REFLEXIONS

ON

Dr. *Gilbert Burnet's*

TRAVELS

INTO

SWITZERLAND, ITALY,

And certain parts of

GERMANY and *FRANCE*, &c.

Divided into Five

LETTERS.

Written originally in Latin by

MONSIEUR * * *

And now done into English.

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In Several Letters.

TO THE READER.

IT is the Deſign and Study of many men of no mean note, in peruſing the Works of others which are received with a general applauſe and commendation, by a diſingenuous policy, working their wits and leaving no ſtone unturn'd, to diſcover ſome failures in them;

fondly imagining that by publiſhing them to the learned world they gain no leſs to their own reputation than they detract from the glory of others, and as much as they ſuppoſe the piercing ſubtilty of their own judgment exceeds that of other men. And though it cannot be deny'd that ſome by this means have in ſome meaſure obtain'd their end, by reaſon of the manners and diſpoſition of men oft too prone to lend an ear to him who under a falſe ſhew cunningly undermines the credit of ſome famous man; yet moſt inſtead of a deſired applauſe have acquired nothing but hatred and infamy, and their own weakneſs

nesse become much more manifest, than their indeavours were to discover that of others. *Asinius Pollio* the Roman, highly in favour in the Court of *Augustus*, upbraided the most elegant Roman Historian *Livius Patavinus* with being born at *Padua*, but with such obscurity, that learned men, even to these times are at a loss to understand what he meant by it; and so very unhappily, that he hath bestowed upon him by a judicious Person not long since this deserved *Elogium*, viz. *Dum ab* Asinio Pollione Patavinitas Livio *tam indignè objicitur, non immeritò utrùm in* Livio *plus* patavinitatis *quàm in* Asinio asinitatis *insit, dubites. Plutarch*;

that moſt accompliſh'd Perſon, was cenſur'd not long ſince, as having a good judgment indeed, but not ſubtile enough, being unable to diſtinguiſh the various diſpoſitions of men contradicting oftentimes and thwarting one another, inſomuch that had he been to write the Life of *Catiline*, he would have repreſented him either covetous or prodigal, being far ſhort of the ſharp wit of *Saluſt*, who moſt judiciouſly terms him deſirous of what was another man's, profuſe of what was his own. But that I may conceal what with the greateſt elegancy is argued to the contrary by a moſt ingenious perſon, and proved by the

the character which *Plutarch* gave of *Sylla*, ſcarce ever conſiſtent with himſelf; This very *Plutarch* accuſes *Saluſt* (as if he had foreſeen that time would produce a man, who ſhould eſteem him far inferiour to *Saluſt* in ingenuity) of great ſtupidity, for his words are theſe in the Life of *Lucullus*; *I ſtrangely admire how* Saluſt *could be guilty of ſo much imprudence and ignorance as to ſay, that the Romans firſt ſaw Camels in the Battel betwixt* Lucullus *and* Mithridates, *as if he could believe that the Army under* Scipio *againſt* Antiochus, *or that under the command of* Archelaus *againſt the* Orchomænians *near* Cheronæa, *were ignorant what*

ſort of creature a Camel was. What Plagiaries are *Theocritus* and *Virgil* made by thoſe who with great vanity accuſe them of appropriating to themſelves many of *Homer*'s Verſes? Nor can the greateſt Writers of our age eſcape the cenſure of ſuch conceited men; for is not *Thuanus* accuſed to have written as a ſtrange ſort of a Politician, *Paulus Sarpius* of ignorance, and *Palavicinus* of vanity? So that whitherſoever any man's affections or profit hurry him, if the Pen of a Writer tend not that way, in vain he may expect the applauſe of a good, learned, prudent or eloquent perſon. As for my part, I have always been averſe

verſe to that vain and inſipid pretence to wiſdom, by finding fault with another in hopes of advancing my own reputation, neither ever read I any Authour with a deſign to expoſe his failures or ignorance, but in order to correct my own; and if by chance in any Authour treating of variety of excellent Subjects, I find ſome ſlips, I eſteem of them as errours onely, and own my ſelf indebted to his inſtruction for my knowledge of them. Yet in *Benj. Priolus's* Hiſtory onely, from the death of *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*, to the death of Cardinal *Mazarini*, in twelve Books in *Latin*, ſo much applauded by the generality of

learned men, I thought I obſerved many things that would ſcarce admit of an excuſe. For, beſides the vaſt number of Sentences out of *Tacitus*, *Seneca*, and other ancient Writers, which without any mention of the Authours he hath mingled with his own words, or to ſpeak more truly, with which he hath mingled his own words; I ſay, beſides that innumerable company of Sentences, he hath tranſcribed whole paragraphs from *Lipſius*, and entire pages out of *Barclay's Argenis*, whereby he ſeems to me to have plaid the notorious Plagiary with ſo much the leſs judgment, by how much the ſtyle of both the aforeſaid Authours

thours is justly reprehended by the best Wits: *Lipsius*'s style is Latin indeed, but crude and harsh; *Barclay*'s pleasant and florid, but not Latin. I shall endeavour to prove what I have said by this one example, viz. *Priolus*, in the Book of his History, speaking of the affairs and commotions in *England*, violently tending to the destruction and ruine of that most happy Kingdom, endeavours to give us a Character of *Charles* the First, the best of Kings; and of *Cromwell* likewise, the worst of Subjects. King *Charles* the First, he describes in these words; *Charles, a person of a most mild dispositi-on, not prone to revenge by a due*

severi-

severity, possessed the Kingdom by descent from his Ancestours; who abhorring the height of business, as one who was too much in love with ease, committed both himself and his affairs to unfaithfull counsels. Hence arose the cause of all those evils to the best of Kings, through the envy especially, not so much of Fairfax *as, of* Cromwell, *who watch'd his opportunity to take advantage of the King's oversights. Whilst* Charles's *mind was thus exempt from cares, he wrought so effectually that no part of the Kingdom was free from infection. And now fury and ambition took up arms against the King, and laid hands on him prostrate; who began though late*

to

to be mindfull of his cauſe and reputation: but now, though in greatneſs of reſolution inferiour to no Prince, he had loſt the diſpoſal of himſelf; and he, whom nothing but his own goodneſs could make a captive, was compelled, by the villany of others, to manifeſt to the world his vertues. On the contrary, of *Cromwell* he ſays thus; Cromwell *a man of great courage and counſell, moſt ſubtile in pleaſing, came ſhort of none in credulity and pride, as oft as he might with Safety: at length he proceeded ſo far*, &c. Now *Barclay*, in his *Argenis*, deſcribes *Meleander* in the very ſame words that *Priolus* does *Charles*, and likewiſe *Lycogenes* with the ſame

ſame that he does *Cromwell.* Of *Meleander* he ſays thus: Meleander, *a man of moſt mild diſpoſition, poſſeſſeth the Kingdom of* Sicily, *by deſcent from Father and Grandfathers--- who I am apt to think enjoy'd too great happineſs, nor was he prone to requite injuries by a due ſeverity. He did not contract friendſhips by counſel; --abhorr'd the height of buſineſs, which for the moſt part he committed to unfaithfull perſons--- And hence aroſe the cauſe of all thoſe evils to the beſt of Kings, eſpecially through the envy and ambition of* Lycogenes, *who perfidiouſly watch'd an opportunity to take advantage of the King's overſights--- And whilſt the King*

ex-

exempt from cares indulgeth himself in ease, Lycogenes *fills the Court with men of his own faction, publickly disposeth of Offices to his friends, as properly belonging to him, to the intent that no part of the Kingdom might be free from infection. And now fury and ambition had taken up Arms for* Lycogenes *in a manner publickly against the King.* Meleander, *though late, the War being now ready to break forth, began to be mindfull of his reputation and the cause for which he took the Purple, being inferiour to no Prince in greatness of resolution-- And he, whom nothing could make a captive but his own goodness, was compell'd by the villany of others to*

mani-

manifeſt to the world his vertues. Of *Lycogenes* thus; *Lycogenes was a man of great courage and counſel, moſt ſubtile in pleaſing the People; but he was inferiour to no one in perfidiouſneſs and credulity, and as oft as he might with ſafety, in pride.* Would not any one be eaſily induced to believe that *Charles* and *Meleander*, *Lycogenes* and *Cromwell* were the ſame perſons; *Priolus* and *Barclay* the ſame Authours? Notwithſtanding, ſince in other reſpects he hath ſhewn himſelf a perſon of great probity and prudence, having diſcharged the office of an Hiſtorian with the greateſt exactneſs, whether his method be conſider'd, or the perſpicuity

ity of what he relates, or what is equal to both, truth; (*dum quid veri dicere auſus, & quid falſi dicere non auſus ſit,*) who cannot eaſily wink at his borrowed ornaments? Who, in an Hiſtorian, ought not to be much more taken with the real worth and beauty of juſt Hiſtory than in detecting the blemiſhes of Oratory; Since few are able to expreſs the former, it is meanneſs in any to endeavour the latter; And now if after many commendations I ſhould at length perceive my ſelf obliged to add ſomething to his diſcredit, I would be ſo earneſt in ſetting forth his praiſes, that when I ſhould come to ſay any thing to the contrary,

trary, my breath might fail; and so, if I added nothing, I might not seem so much to favour him as my self. Notwithstanding all this, how averse soever I have been hitherto from all manner of censure of Books or Authours, I must now confess I cannot well approve of the Epistles of Doctour *Gilbert Burnet* of his travails into *Helvetia*, *Italy*, *France*, and some parts of *Germany*. His too sharp reflexions in almost every page move my choler. What a horrible presumption is it for a private man, in his passage onely through some of the famousest Nations of the World, when for want of time, to

name

name nothing else, 'twas impossible for him to understand their Vertues, out of a vain itch of Scribling, to lay open their Vices and defects, and publish them as it were from the Pulpit; nay rather than not stuff his Papers, malitiously to forge things not known and unheard of by them? Certainly no Nation under the Sun is so perfectly furnish'd with variety of all good things, as to want nothing; nor so accomplish'd in all vertuous qualities, as never to decline into popular errours, and customary failures, which at first sight seem great to a stranger; but if he throughly view and consider the disposition

and manners of a People, and acquaint himself with their humours, contrary to those of his own Nation, they will quickly appear to be not onely not great, but scarce failures at all. *Thus nothing is more unjust* (to use the words of *Barclay* in the first Book of his *Argenis*) *than to condemn those things which we our selves do not doe or see, especially if they be approved of by the consent of whole Nations: for it is manifest when time hath made them pleasant to us, it was not from any intrinsick fault, but from our own ignorance that they displeased us at first sight; and moreover we must suppose that every Nation hath both customs and*

and cloathing ſuitable to the climate, which the genius of the Countrey will inſinuate to any one, who will endeavour to inform himſelf by a juſt abode there. I muſt confeſs our Authour is not the firſt in this ſort of falſe Accuſation, having imitated herein the ſlanderous *Sorbierius* in his invective againſt the moſt polite nation of the *Engliſh*; but ſince he hath been ſo ingeniouſly expoſed by the famous Dr. *Sprat*, one would have thought no one durſt have followed ſo infamous an example, if not for love of vertue, for fear of puniſhment: But of that the Doctour is little fearfull in *Holland*, and the other he hath diſcarded in more

papers than this. Again, I cannot expreſs how ill I reſented it, that a perſon ſhould aſperſe whole Nations, and they ſo great, after having deſerved ſo very ill of ſuch an excellent Prince as his own King. *England* hath been bleſſed with very many renowned and good Princes, all whoſe vertues ſeem to concentre in him, than whom certainly none ever more promoted the ſafety of his People, and the glory and profit of his whole Kingdom, with ſo much goodneſs, prudence, courage and conſtancy. His Subjects own all this, and are ſenſible of the bounty and magnificence of their King, yet are uncapable of

of taking so full a prospect as those who from foreign parts calmly view and consider all things: Even as men in a great Ship, making its way to the haven through raging waves and furious tempests, being each too intent upon his own affairs, cannot so well judge of the dexterity and prudence of the Pilot, as they who carefully behold all at a due distance. So great is the Reverence and Renown of this Prince amongst other Nations, that what *Scipio* said of the People of *Rome* may be truly applicable to him; ‖ *There is no King upon earth they less desire should be their enemy, or whose friendship they covet more.*

‖ Neminem in Terris Principem hodie dici posse quem minus sibi hostem se velint aut amicum malint.

Now for a perſon that hath deſerved ill of ſo great a Prince, what addition can be made to his crime, but by calumniating and aſperſing whole Nations, nay even the whole World it ſelf? There are onely two things in the World which adorn men, and raiſe a private perſon above the vulgar, Vertue and Learning; but Vertue ſo far exceeds Learning, as it is more commendable to doe than think onely great things, and ſince no City or Society of men can conſiſt without it. Wherefore they ſtill who could not attain to both, ſetting aſide Learning, readily made choice of Vertue; and ſome with ſuch benefit to the Com-

mon-

mon-wealth and their Countrey, that many have almoſt been perſuaded that Vertue without Learning doth not onely not become leſs, but more pure and venerable. An example of which, not to ſearch into Antiquity, we have in that famous Conſtable of *France*, *Monmorancie*, who being in a manner illiterate, got notwithſtanding ſo much renown, not onely by Martial conduct, but by the peaceable management of State-affairs, as if all the *Tacitus's*, *Seneca's*, *Plato's* and *Ariſtotle's* had been his Aſſiſtants; a convincing Argument certainly, that Vertue is to be preferred before Learning, ſince we ſee

it capable of performing all the offices of the other. But our Authour is not of this mind. Learning in his opinion is much preferable to Vertue, so that from this alone he seeks to purchase an immortal fame, esteeming no imputation so great and infamous as that of Ignorance. Wherefore, after all that hath been said of his foul aspersions and arrogancy, if still he be esteem'd a Learned man, and, Vertue excepted, throughly accomplish'd; he will laugh and triumph at our vain endeavours, and securely contemn and despise whatever can be said against him. Nevertheless, as to this, I have a great deal to say; yet in such a manner that, after

after I have made appear several of his deceptions, errors and false argmentations, the Reader hath free liberty, if he please, notwithstanding all this, to esteem of him as a most learned and rare accomplish'd Person. After a carefull perusal of all our Authour's Epistles, I find him discharging himself more especially in three respects; 1. that of a Calumniatour, of which I have spoken before; 2. of a Critick; 3. of a Politician. As for the part of a Divine, he never plaid it, but onely once at *Geneva*, where, as he affirms, he preach'd with general applause to the People. As a Critick, 1. he discourses of the votive Shield at *Lions*; 2. he

2. he explains an Inſcription in Stone which he ſaw there; 3. he corrects a paſſage in *Vegetius*; 4. he raiſes diſputes from ſeveral Manuſcripts, concerning that dubious Saying in Scripture, *There are three that bear record*, &c. and, 5. he comments largely on the Grotto's of *Rome* and *Naples*; which laſt piece of Criticiſm, if I miſtake not, he mightily fanſies to himſelf to be the beſt place of his whole Book; but how little he deſerves the name of a Critick, in all theſe, I ſhall ſhew in my following Reflexions. It may be thought, perhaps, that being intent upon buſineſs of greater moment, as a true Politician ſearching curiouſly into

into the ſecrets of Governments, he was not at leiſure to mind ſuch trifling matters. But even here likewiſe the vanity of the man appears no leſs, it being matter of juſt doubt, whether he have approved himſelf a worſe Critick or Politician; the truth of which no one, that will take the pains to reade the following papers, can reaſonably call in queſtion. He treats chiefly of two Republicks, *viz. Switzerland* and *Venice*; of the former of which I have taken but little notice, being informed by a friend that a learned man of *Zurich* is about a work, in order to expoſe the inſipid errours of the Doctour, and to communicate

nicate to the learned World the true description of his Country. Of the latter, *viz.* that of the *Venetians*, more at large. And here I cannot sufficiently admire at the pride and vanity of the man, which cause him at the very beginning almost of his first Epistle, in boasting words to promise his Reader, that he would discourse of nothing that had been handled by any one else; a task, as exceeding his ability, so not to be performed by a wandring Traveller for want of leisure. Who can be ignorant how exactly *Soranzio*, a Senatour, *Nanio*, and last of all *Amelottius Houssaius*, have described the Republick of *Venice*? What can

can the Doctour imagine remaining to be said after such persons? Nay, rather what a conceited opinion hath he of his own abilities, in comparison to theirs? But I must confess I am too severe upon our Authour, which injury ought to be redress'd. He declares he will relate nothing that hath been taken notice of by ordinary Writers; wherein he's as good as his word, having writ nothing but forgeries far distant from truth. Such things, I can easily grant, were never said by any one; so that without doubt he may pass for the first Authour of them: Since therefore our Authour's Writings can admit of excuse in this

this particular onely, I ſhall endeavour to prove it by many and evident arguments, and in ſo doing endeavour to oblige him. I will oppoſe therefore to the Doctour that moſt noble perſonage *Amelottius*, who for many years reſided at *Venice*, and was Secretary in an Embaſſie from *France*, and employ'd likewiſe in other publick affairs; whereas the Doctour was there onely fourteen days, as a wandring Miniſter of God's Word: And if upon comparing theſe two the courteous Reader ſhall often find them directly contradicting themſelves, he may freely judge which of them deſerves rather to be credited; onely this

this I would desire of him, that if he adhere not to the Doctour, yet that he would believe him not the less learned, but that he industriously made a shew of ignorance, in order to perform his promise. Hitherto indeed our Authour may seem to have treated of things very splendid and magnificent, and although somewhat unhappily, yet the grandeur of the matter seems to plead pardon for his errours; and that which we learn in the Schools may be of some consolation to him, *viz.* in great matters to will is sufficient. But if thou desire to know more from me, if since it was impossible for him to fill three hun-

hundred and six pages with so few things, with what at last he compleated them; and likewise hast a mind to be informed by me whose part he hath acted; in truth I am much afraid his reputation will be utterly blasted, and hiss'd at by the very boys. Whatever come of it, I am resolved in the first place to conceal nothing, in order to satisfie thy desire. Know therefore that in the following Pages the Doctour acts the part of *Æsop*, but so as not worthy to be taken notice of by men, and onely to be admired by women and children, relating onely bare and empty old wives fables, with which he is so mightily taken, that he

spends

ſpends many pages in recounting of them. That ſingle Fable of the *Monks* of *Bern* is ſcarcely concluded by our Authour in fourteen pages, and he relates innumerable others of the ſame nature. The remaining ſpace he devotes to the women and damoſels, on whom he makes not unlearned obſervations, whereby he hath much obliged the moſt obſequious admirers of that fair ſex. Notwithſtanding they find fault with him for one thing, that even here alſo he hath plaid the Critick too nicely; one while ſcornfully twitting the *Swiſs* Virgins of being ſaluted with a touch, and another while thoſe of *Frankford*

of wearing Mantles with a gold Embroidery of too great a breadth, and this they take intolerably ill, that he was not asham'd to mention putting of hands under the Virgins coats. But that by conversing with women he oftentimes went away much improv'd, he shews even by this, that he learnt with what wonderfull art their Pots were made in which they cook their meat in their Kitchins, as may be seen in his ninety fourth page. Lastly, the Doctour more than once plays the Panegyrist, but altogether as unsuccessfully. His subject indeed sometimes is good, noble and great; but, if you consider narrowly his

words,

words, you will find him launch out in his commendations, not of the worth of his subject, but in hopes of procuring an estimation of his own judgment; and how great soever the vertues are of the person whom he applauds, yet notwithstanding he would always have it thought that his own Eloquence is greater. Moreover he mixes such ambiguous and sharp things in his very Encomiums, that a man has need of all the good opinion he ever conceiv'd of the Authour to keep him from believing that by a shew of commendation he disparages his subject; so that I am of opinion they are not the most

unhappy of whom he takes the leaſt notice. But now to ſay ſomething touching my method. The errours and blemiſhes as they follow one another in order I demonſtrate and confute; nor do I raiſe a diſpute about his words, but when I produce them firſt without the leaſt alteration. Farthermore, to every Epiſtle I have added an Argument, that whatever is contained therein may be ſeen as it were in a ſhort Table. Praiſe from the work, I moſt freely confeſs, I exſpect none, ſince there is little need of ingenuity, the Authour's errours being ſo groſs and palpable, that one of a mean capacity might have diſco-

discover'd them. If twice or thrice I seem to animadvert on some slight mistakes, I would be thought, since * he so severely reprehends the like in others, unwilling to pass them by in him. So when I blame him for putting *Francis* the First before *Charles* the Fifth, any one would think he might easily be pardoned for it, who imagines him of opinion that that order, so strictly adhered to by Secretaries in all Courts, was not worth his observance: and I confess I should have been of the same mind too, had I not found him strictly observing it in another place. For mirth sake I will give you an instance. In the first place, no

* See his Book against *Varillas*.

one will deny but that between Protestants and Catholicks our Authour will assign the chief place to the first. Secondly, among Protestants onely, without doubt he prefers the *Calvinists* before the *Lutherans*. Now see with what exactness he hath assign'd to each their place, page 289. these are his words; *Prince* Charles Lewis *built a Church for them all three, which he called the Church of the Concord, in which both*, 1. Calvinists, 2. Lutherans, and 3. Papists, *had the exercise of their Religion*. I have omitted an innumerable company of other things which might justly be blamed in any other, of which I will relate one or two here.

At

At the beginning almost of the first Epistle, *he fansies*, he says, *it will not be an ingratefull entertainment if he give some account of those things that pleased him most in the Places through which he passed.* But the first of all is that which he relates to us in his second page, of the misery and extreme poverty of *France*: *As I came all the way from* Paris *to* Lyons, *I was amased to see so much misery as appeared, not onely in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the marks of an extreme poverty shewed themselves both in the Buildings, the Cloaths, and almost in the Looks of the Inhabitants.* What more rational consequence can be drawn from

these words than this, that the Doctour was mightily pleased with the extreme misery of the Inhabitants of *France?* Moreover, it is worth observance, that he is much more copious in exposing the defects and vices of a People, than relating of their vertues; insomuch that he ought to have told us, that he would declare not such things as pleas'd him, but such with which he was displeas'd. In the eighth page, speaking of the Arsenal at *Geneva*, he says, that in proportion to the State it *is* the greatest in the World, for it contains arms for more men than are in the State; which is absurd enough, for that re-

ſtriction, in proportion to the State, hath no force at all here, if you juſtly weigh the matter, and the ſenſe is this, The Arſenal at *Geneva* is the greateſt in the world: But if he had ſtated his propoſition thus, The People of *Geneva*, in proportion to their ſmall State, *have* the greateſt Arſenal in the World, then perhaps he would not have err'd much from the truth, nor the conſent of his Readers. Page 10. He divides Juſtice into publick and private, which Diviſion, as it is unknown to all ſorts of Ethicks and Politicks hitherto, ſo in my opinion it is very unmeet and incongruous. For what elſe is private Juſtice but clandeſtine,

viz.

viz. Injustice, since all true Justice is publick? But he understands by private Justice commutative, which, he says, is very ill observ'd by the Merchants of *Geneva*; so that he will not suffer them also to want their Elogium. Page 20. he says, *The Switzers are heavy witted*; although a little after, Page 21. he affirms that *That very Nation hath not onely an extreme sense of liberty*, but, Page 25. that, *They manage all matters with great dexterity and address*, which are most manifest tokens certainly not of a heavy but subtile wit. Pag. 131. *In the Library of St. Mark, at Venice*, he says, *there are no Manuscripts, but Modern, viz.*

such

such as have been written in our time, to be found; affirming that, *none of them are above five hundred years old*: But with what reason our Authour can term Manuscripts of five hundred years old Modern, may not unreasonably be question'd by any one. It would take up a whole year, if I were minded to omit nothing of such like stuff as this. Therefore it is satisfaction enough to me to expose some of the grossest passages, that I might not spend too much time, which is exceeding pretious to me; insomuch that those fourteen days which I spent in writing these Notes, I esteem in a manner lost.

Farewell.

REFLEXIONS UPON Dr. GILBERT BURNET's TRAVELS

Into *Switzerland*, *Italy*, and certain parts of *Germany* and *France*, &c. divided into Five LETTERS *Englished* from the *Latin*.

BEfore we come to make our Criticks upon the Work it self, it will not be amiss to take notice of what certain Worthy Persons have briefly observed concerning this Book in their *Acta Eruditorum*, published at *Leipsick* on the first of *October*, MDCLXXXVII. For as all their other Writings are done with a great deal of Impartialness and without Bitterness; so their Abstract being

prefixed to each of Dr. *Burnet's* Letters, we intend to make them serve for an Argument to them all: But yet here we mark by the bye, that those *Vertuoso's* are mistaken in this, where, they say, our Authour's Letters were first published in *Italian*; for, being a Native of *Scotland*, he printed them at *Roterdam*, in *English*, MDCLXXXVI. soon after which they were brought into *England*, but presently suppress'd.

The Authour divides his whole Relation into five Letters: The first bearing date from *Zurich*, 1. *Sept.* 1685. The second from *Milaine*, 2. *Octobr.* the same year. The third from *Florence*, 13. *Novembr.* The fourth from *Rome*, 8. *Decembr.* And the fifth from *Nimegen*, 20. *Maii*, 1686.

The

The Argument of the first Letter, dated at Zurich, Sept. *the first, in the year,* 1685.

OUR Authour begins his Relation from his Travels in *France*, that he went from *Paris* towards *Lyons*, where he has remark'd little else, besides the extreme poverty that was every where apparent in Villages and Towns. At *Lyons* he observed an Inscription not taken notice of by others, (as he pretends) wherein the Husband *Cecalius Calistio* complains of his Wife *Sutia Antis*, *quod dum Nimia* (thus it was corruptly written) *pia esset*, that is, Too much and superstitiously pious, *impia facta sit*: which he supposes must be understood of Christianity, which at that time was look'd on as criminal.

At *Grenoble* he found a Manuscript of *Vegetius*, from whence he thinks to give light to a passage concerning the stature of the Souldiers, which in

the printed Books is obscure; they reading, *Scio semper mensuram à* Mario *Consule exactam.* And in that Manuscript the word *à* is wanting, and for *Mario* there is III, whence some body might make *Mario*, as of the *C.* they might make *Consule*; whereas it ought to be read III. C. *trium Cubitorum.*

Of Matters relating to *Geneva*, passing by, as constantly he does, or slightly touching at what is common and known to others, he much extolls one thing and proposes it to the Imitation of greater Cities, namely, that they constantly keep in their publick Granary Provision of Corn for two years, allowing the Citizens notwithstanding to buy their Corn where they please, onely the Bakers and publick Inns being obliged to take off a certain quantity, with a moderate gain to the Common-wealth, which yet in a little time will suffice to pay vast Debts. Then he compares the practice at *Rome* with this of *Geneva*.

At *Rome*, says he, all the Corn of the Province must be sold to the Pope. The Seller receives, though but slowly, five Ducats *per* Bushel: This Bushel afterward in the Pope's Name, though a fifth part less, for double price; so for five shillings the Exchequer receives twelve. Then more Corn is forced upon the Bakers every year than they can put off, and what's left upon their hands the Exchequer buys back again at the first price of Ducats. This is explained, *&c.* and by this invention now continued for thirty years, he writes that the Pope's Countrey is so desolate, that a great part of the Land, because it cannot be us'd to advantage, lyes quite neglected, but that the Magistrates of *Geneva* are contented with small gain. Other things which he commends at *Geneva*, are the publick Frugality which appears by the smalness of their stipends, the number of Learned Men, the Civility of the Inhabitants, the exactness of their Judicatures, their good Laws, especially that whereby all

Lands, even though the price is agreed on between the Buyer and the Seller, are exposed to publick Sale, to the advantage both of the Possessours and Creditours. What he says concerning the form of the Commonwealth, and of the protection, which that City ought to expect from *Berne* and *Zurich*, and of the danger whereinto they are fallen, now that by the neglect of the *Switzers*, the Dutchy of *Burgundy* is annexed to *France*, also of the Lake of *Geneva*, and of its Fish, and what else he adds, we omit. Then he commends *Nicolas Fatio Duillier*, and treats largely of the Affairs of *Berne*.

He sets forth the power of that Common-wealth which, he says, commands above a third part of *Switzerland*, and contains 450 Parishes. He commends many things in the Civil and Ecclesiastick Government, this chiefly, that the Subjects are not drain'd with Tributes, and therefore live much more easily than in the more flourishing Countries of *France*

and *Italy*. One thing he finds fault with, that the Governours of Towns and Villages which are subject to the City gain mightily by the Mulcts of the Inhabitants, which serves for their Salary. He tells us how the ill consequences of Bandyings and Factions, which were used in the Election of Officers were lately prevented by a wholsome Law. He says, the City, which of it self is not over strong, owes its Security as well to the number and courage of her Citizens and Inhabitants, who all bear Arms, as to the emulation of the neighbouring Princes, for equally conserving the Society and Friendship of *Switzerland*. Yet again he advises of the dangerous neighbourhood of *France* in *Burgundy*. He observ'd a notable difference in the Laws relating to Religion; for the Men of *Berne* and other Cities of *Switzerland* which follow the reformed Religion, onely command their Subjects, if any dissent therefrom, to go out of their Dominions, and permit them to enjoy their Possessions, or sell

them and bear away the value. But under the Roman-Catholicks 'tis Death for any to change their Religion. This severity both lately and heretofore occasions Discords and Wars between the *Cantons*, which yet by the prudence and moderation of the Nobility are easily appeas'd, even the Pope's *Nuncio's* concurring to quiet Counsels towards the conservation of the *Switzers* Peace and Freedom for the security of *Italy*, dispensing with that zeal which otherwise they shew against Protestants.

On occasion of a Description of the Churches of *Berne* he relates a Story of a certain Dominican in counterfeiting the appearance of the Blessed Virgin *Mary* and other crimes, for which the Authours were executed, *An.* 1509. He says he saw the authentick Acts of 130 pages, written in a small character, and he carefully read them, and observed, that the printed Editions were not exact and correct enough, *&c.* Among the Roman-Catholicks at *Fribourg* in *Uchland* and elsewhere,

elſewhere, he notes the higheſt degree of Superſtition, and the like.

He very much commends the Polity of the Church of *Zurich* and their great Charity beſtowed on Hoſpitals: But when he has related, that Sermons are daily had there, being formerly brought in by the Reformers in lieu of their daily Maſſes, he adviſes to contract them, ſuppoſing thereby, that the People would come more frequently, and liſten more attentively. He adds, That their Preachers would do better, if, holding to their firſt uſe, they would employ themſelves in the plain expoſition of Scripture; for ſo (ſays he) they will more and more attain to the ſenſe thereof, which is the true knowledge of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and eaſe themſelves of that labour, which thoſe long and elaborate Sermons require, though yet they do but little edifie the People. Among the Archives of the Chapter of *Zurich*, he ſaw a great many Letters of *Bullinger* and other famous Men. He adds ſomething concerning the

the Dissensions relating to Priestly habits, between the Bishops and Presbyterians in *England*.

We must not forget a Relation of our Authour concerning a Passage, 1 Ep. *John* 5. 7. *There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father*, &c. Upon which account our Authour perused Manuscript Bibles among the *Switzers* and in *Italy*. The summe is this: In the *Greek* Copies, which he saw, that Verse is not found, nor in many of the *Latin*, though 800 or 900 years old, in some, that it was written but in another hand. That it is found in the Book of *Geneva*, and also in the *Venetian* Library of S. *Mark*, and in the *Florentine* of S. *Laurence*, and in one of four at *Strasbourg*. That in all these the eighth Verse is misplaced and joined unto it by the word *item*. But he admires that it is omitted even in those, before which S. *Jerom*'s Preface is read, which defends that Passage against the *Arians*: and that *Erasmus* did not add that Preface to his Edition of S. *Jerom*, when yet he

he saw it in a Manuscripe at *Basil* and the same is found in many more. By the way he observes, that in the *Vatican* Library there are no Copies of the Bible above 400 years old, except a *Greek* one, which is accounted but onely by conjecture to be of 1400 years standing.

After this Digression, returning to the Matters of *Switzerland*, he highly extolls the Goodness which the reformed *Switzers* shew to such *Frenchmen* as are driven out of their Countrey for the same Religion.

Then he speaks of the difference between the reformed Divines about the Question of the Universality of the Merit and Grace of *Jesus Christ* and others, which our Authour calls Speculative, they not touching the Foundation of Religion. But the People of *Zurich* and *Berne*, and afterwards of *Geneva*, compell'd all that desire to be admitted to either Ecclesiastick or Scholastick Office, to subscribe to a certain Form, which is rejected by *Amiraldus*, *Capellus* and their Followers.

He

He dislikes this as a matter of Curiosity in things of small moment and much more (though he says he has a great respect for the Divines of that City) the usurping of that Power which onely belongs to God; who has Dominion over Consciences, and he reckons the Invention of such Forms fatal to the Church.

REFLEXIONS.

I.

Page 4. *The Shield of Silver of 22 Pounds weight, in which some Remains of guilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of Scipio's, of restoring a fair Captive to a Celtiberian Prince, is certainly the Noblest piece of Plate that is now extant.*

We shall observe three Things from these words.

I. Our Authour says this Shield is of 22 Pounds weight; whereas the famous *Spanius, dans ses Recherches curieuses d'antiquité, Dissertation* I. affirms it to weigh but 21 Pounds; and also

also our Authour adds a Pound, which by no means becomes so able and accurate a Searcher of Antiquity as he would fain be thought, especially in a thing so notable; for, as he himself professes, it is the noblest piece that has been handed down from old times to ours. And though this may seem but a slight difference, yet if every Critick should think so, and in like manner add one Pound a piece, how far from Truth would this be at last? However I have no other Design here but to shew, that our Authour may err and not care to be exact. No man will deny the Authority of *Sponius* to be greater than his in this matter, who doth but know that he is an Inhabitant of that City wherein this Shield is kept, and most learnedly wrote an entire Dissertation thereupon.

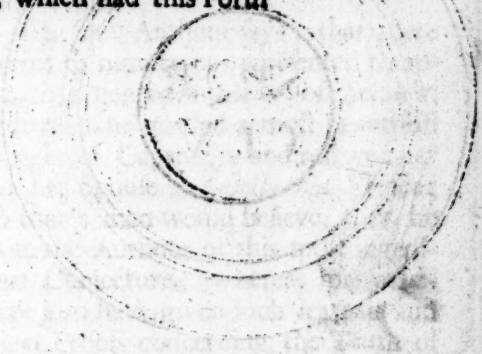
II. He onely calls it a Shield, without any other distinction of Name, thereby giving his Readers great reason to doubt of the Truth of the matter, since no man can use a Shield of that

that weight for the defence of his Body; these are the words of *Sponius*, *On n'aura pas la pensée, que ce fut un bouclier pour la guerre, si l'on prend garde à sa pesanteur, qui auroit trop fatigué le bras d'un Soldat.* Dissertation I. *de ses Recherches curieus d'antiquité.*

It is therefore a votive Shield. Now your votive Shields were large *Discs* of Metal whereon were engraven the Figures of *Hero's* and their memorable Actions; which were devoted and hung up in the Temples of the Gods, which was a most ancient usage, and perhaps took its rise from that custome among the *Greeks* of painting and engraving Shields of War; as in *Homer* we find of *Achilles* and *Ajax* his Shield. *Livy* in XXVth. Book relates, that in the Temple of the Capitol there was a Silver Shield of 138 Pound weight with the Image of *Asdrubal* of the *Barchin* Family, as a Monument of *Lucius Mantius* his Victory over the *Carthaginians*. In the Triumph of *Titus Quintus Flamini-*

nius

nius over *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, Son of *Demetrius*, there were among the Spoils ten Shields of Silver and one of massy Gold; which with many Patterns of other votive Shields may be seen in *Jac. Spon. Miscell. Erud. Antiquit.* as also in *Saumaize in loco de Clypeis.* I will onely borrow of him one, which had this Form



This

S.P.Q.R.
CL.V.

This Shield was dedicated to *Augustus* by the Senate and People of *Rome*, as these Letters mean: *S.P.Q.R.CL.V.* being the initials of these words, *Senatus Populusque Romanus Clypeum Votivum*, or, *Vovet Cæsari Augusto.* This Shield stands bellying out about the middle, as that about which we are discoursing.

III. Our Authour says, that there seems to him to be represented therein that generous Action of *Scipio's*, whereby he quitted a most beautifull Virgin of Captivity, and restored her to her Spouse a *Celtiberian* Prince; so that a man would believe, that he was the Authour of this most ingenious Conjecture, whereas many before him have given such learned and clear Proofs concerning the Truth of the matter, that they have left no place for any one to doubt of it. First, I shall repeat this memorable Story out of *Livy*, and then produce *Sponius* his application thereof to the Shield. These are his words: "There was brought "to him by Souldiers a captive Maid,

" which was so beautifull that she
" charm'd all that beheld her. *Scipio*
" ask'd her of what Countrey and
" Parentage she was? She answered,
" she was betrothed to a young Prince
" of the *Celtiberians* by name *Allu-*
" *tius*. Presently he sends for her
" Relations and Spouse who he heard
" loved her extremely, whom he
" discourses more peculiarly than the
" rest. Being a young man my self,
" I call you a young man, lest you
" may be ashamed of the word. When
" your Spouse was brought to me
" by my Souldiers, and that I heard
" you lov'd her entirely which might
" be easily believ'd of so fair a Person.
" I must confess I could love her my
" self, if the occupations of the Com-
" mon-wealth did suffer me to indulge
" the dalliance of Love, and therefore
" I must needs shew my self indulgent
" and favourable to the Love you
" bear. Your Spouse has been as
" chastly kept here with us, as if she
" had been with her own Parents and
" Kindred; and this care was used,

" that

" that I might be able to make you a
" Present becoming me and your self.
" I require this onely recompense for
" such a gift, that you will become
" a Friend to the Common-wealth of
" *Rome*; and if by what you have
" seen, you will judge me to be an
" honest man, and such as these your
" Countrey-men have experienced my
" Father and Uncle to have been for-
" merly towards them; I would have
" you to know, that there are many
" more such other as we in the City
" of *Rome*, and that you shall find no
" People on the Earth whom you
" might so much wish to be your
" Friends, or less desire to be your
" Enemies. The young man, over-
" come with joy and shame, and hol-
" ding fast *Scipio*'s hand, invoked all
" the Gods to render thanks for him
" to such an *Hero*, seeing he was un-
" able himself to thank him sufficient-
" ly or answerably to his Deserts.
" The Virgin's Parents that had
" brought a great deal of Gold with
" them for to redeem her, seeing

" that she was restored to them *gratis*, they begged *Scipio* to accept " of that Money as a Present, which " they would take as kindly from " him as the restoring of their Daughter. *Scipio*, finding them to be urgent, accepted of the same, and bid " them lay it at his Feet, and calling " to him *Allutius*, he said, I present " you with this Gold as a Dowry " with your Mistress over and above " what you are to receive from your " Father-in law with her. So that being dismiss'd with such Honours and " Presents, he returned home, filling " the Countrey with the report of the " Merits and Praises of *Scipio*, that " there was a young man come much " like the Gods, overcoming all before him, as well by the force of " his Arms, as by the Charms of his " Bounty and Gifts.

Now the Form of our Shield is this:

Which

Ex Musæo D Octavii N

Clypeus Votivu

Which is thus explained by *Sponius*; *Scipio* ſits in the middle, half cover'd with a Mantle onely, his Beard cloſe cut, after the manner of the *Romans* at that time, holding a Spear in his hand, the Symbol of Imperial Dignity. There ſtand about him four *Spaniards*, known by their rough Beards, as was cuſtomary with them, being the Parents and Relations of *Allucius* and the Virgin, who beſeech him to accept of a Gratuity for his reſtoring the Virgin unto them. She ſtands modeſtly by with her Spouſe, who gives her his Hand and Faith, and embraces her with the other Hand. The young man is Beardleſs, but his Hair is rough, like his Countreymens; there ſits a *Spaniard* naked on the ground, perhaps one of the Captives, who admires *Scipio*. Arms are ſcattered here and there, tokens of a Victory already obtain'd, which both a Tribunal ſet up in manner of a Triumphal Arch and *Tritons* publiſh with their Trumpets. Laſtly, Two *Romans*, Tribunes of the People, cloathed in Mail, bearing

ring a Shield and Enſign, being Beardleſs, ſtand by the old Man, who ſpeaks to *Scipio*, one whereof, perhaps, was *Lælius* the Admiral.

This Shield was found *Anno Domini*, MDCLVI. by Fiſhermen in the *Rhoſne* near *Avignon*, and this way *Scipio* muſt go out of *Spain* into *Italy*. But this ſo laudable Deed of *Scipio's*, and the winning of *New-Carthage* happen'd *A. V. C.* 543. *i. e.* 210. years before Chriſt, to which if you add 1688 years, you'll find the Shield to be 1898 years old.

II.

ge 4. *The emboſſing of it is ſo fine and ſo entire, that it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an Inſcription upon it to put us beyond Conjecture, it were yet much more ineſtimable.*

Firſt, he ſays, the Shield is invaluable; but if there were an Inſcription, it were yet much more ineſtimable, wherein he contradicts himſelf; for, if it can be more highly rated, then

it

it could not be before invaluable. Besides, this term Invaluable is an infinite Negative, nor according to the nature of infinites can it admit *magis* or *minus*. The Proposition is to be explain'd thus: This Shield is inestimable, *i.e.* None can esteem it: But when I say that with the addition of some certain circumstance it will be more inestimable, I understand more Nones besides that none that cannot esteem it. How unworthy of a Philosopher is this manner of speaking? and what a Solecism is this in Rhetorick?

III,

A great many Inscriptions are to be seen of the late and barbarous age, &c. *I shall onely give you one, because I made a little Reflexion on it, though it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the Criticks have thought on it.* Page

Here a Man would believe, that the Doctour affirms, that no mention has

been made by any other Writer of this Inſcription, which he recites, as the *Virtuoſo's* of *Leipſick*, whoſe words are theſe: At *Lyons*, as he notes, he obſerved an Inſcription, not taken notice of by others, *In Actis erudit. paulò antè citatis:* Which yet is apparently falſe; for the ſame Inſcription, not to mention others, is taken notice of by *Gruterus, in Inſcript. antiq.* Roman. *pag.* 836. But we'll believe that thoſe words of his are not to be underſtood concerning the Inſcription but its Declaration; the praiſe of which Diſcovery none may envy him, ſince it ſtands but on ſlight ground. The Inſcription is thus read in his Letter:

D. M. Et Memoriæ Æternæ Sutiæ Anthidis. Quæ vixit annis XXV. M. XI. D. V. Quæ dum Nimia pia fuit, facta eſt impia: Et Attio Probatiolo, Cecalius Caliſtio Conjux & Pater, & ſibi vivo ponendum curavit & ſub aſcia dedicavit.

On theſe words, *Quæ dum nimia pia fuit, facta eſt impia,* He founds his Conjecture, that it was written in a bar-

a barbarous age, and even the bottom of all his explication. But it is far otherwise read by *Gruter*, and that in this manner:

D. M.
ET. MEMORIAE.
AETERNAE.
SUTIAE. ANT. III. PIS
QUAE VIXIT. ANNIS. XXV.
M. XI. D. V. QUAE. DUM
NIMIARIA. FUIT. FACTA
EST. IMPIA. ETATTIO. PRO
BATIOLO. CEREALIUS CA
LISTIO. CONJUX. ET
PATER :::. ET. SIBI
VIVUS. PONENDUM
CURAVIT. ET. SUB. AS
CIA. DEDICAVIT.

Whether this reading is more true than that of our Authour's, and what Office or Condition of life is signified by the word *Nimiaria*, I shall not trouble my self to examine; yet our Authour himself seems to favour this reading, by beginning *Nimia* with a great Letter.

How-

However let us give him the Bell, let us rather believe an Eyewitneſs, than *Gruter*, in things, which he received at ſecond Hand, but yet that from *Scaliger* (and he, how great a Man! and how exact in weighing matters) but yet his Opinion will not therefore ſtand, nor that Conjecture, that therefore it was writ in a barbarous Age, if we may be allow'd to make our Conjecture alſo, and are not wholly forbid that Liberty. Wherefore by changing the Comma's a little in the Doctour's Inſcription, whereby he thus diſtinguiſhes the words, and which doubtleſs, ſince they are never uſed in old Inſcriptions came from him, we reckon the words may be read thus,

D. M.
Et Memoriæ Aeternæ
Sutiæ Anthidis, &c.
Quæ dum nimia, pia fuit;
Facta eſt impia.

Quæ dum nimia, i. e. *nimium felix vel dives, vel potens fuit, pia fuit*, that

that is, after the manner of tender Persons, which is frequently hinted in Scripture; but when she began to be a little afflicted (which is here understood) *facta est impia*, she changed her copy. That this manner of expression was usual, we shall shew from several and most approved Authours. So *Corn. Tacit.* Hist. l. 3. c. 52. concerning *Anthony*; *Erant inter Duces qui necterent moras, quippe jam* nimius Antonius. And *Hist.* l. 4. c. 23. *Præferoces initio & rebus secundis* nimii. So *Florus*, lib. 3. c. 15. *Jámque* nimius *& potens altero Tribunatu.*

Nor will the Doctour wonder any more, that the Husband should inscribe such reflecting words on his Wife's Tomb, when he himself intended to lye there, since there are many other Inscriptions of the like nature as that facetious one in a certain Oratory without *Rome* remembred by *Petrus Appianus* and *Bartholomæus Amantius*, *in Inscriptionibus suis*, *S. S. Vetustatis*, pag. 314.

HEVS

HEUS VIATOR MIRACULUM!
HIC VIR ET UXOR NON LITIGANT,
QUI SUMUS NON DICO,
AT IPSA DICAM:
HIC BEBRIUS EBRIUS ME EBRIAM
NUNCUPAT,
NON DICO AMPLIUS
HEU! UXOR
ET ?AM MORTUA LITIGAS.

We ſhall note one thing more, which we obſerved in our Authour's Inſcription. He reads, *Et ſibi vivo pœnendum curavit.* What Nonſenſe is this? Would the Owner of the Tomb have himſelf buried alive? Certainly, I wonder that the Doctour does not more wonder at this than at that ſtrange Teſtimony which the Huſband gives of his Wife on the Stone. Give me leave to produce my Conjecture of this matter. Our Authour ſays he believes that the Wife was here a Chriſtian, but I ſhould rather ſay, that the Husband was a Chriſtian,

and

and therefore as the Chriſtians formerly for fear of Heathens lived in the Catacombs, ſo he was minded to live in his Tomb for the ſame reaſon. But, to be ſerious, by this one word you may ſee that our Authour was not over exact in copying this Inſcription, and as in this, ſo in other things to have lean'd too much to fancifull Conjectures, and conſequently, that the reading of *Gruter* is to be prefer'd to his; for that reading, *Sibi vivo ponendum curavit* is thus to be corrected: *Sibi vivus ponendum curavit*; or, *Sibi vivos*, which perhaps occaſion'd our Authour to miſtake, for you ſhall frequently meet with *vivos* for *vivus* in old Inſcriptions, as *Sponius* obſerves very well in *Hiſtor. Genev.* where he repeats this Inſcription which is found there:

M. JUL. MARCIANUS
SIBI. VIVOS. POSTERISQUE
SUIS. FECIT.

IV.

IV.

Page 6. *In one Manuscript of* Vegetius, de re militari, *there is a clear correction of a passage, that in all the printed Editions is not sense: In the Chapter of the size of Souldiers he begins:* Scio semper mensuram à *Mario* Consule exactam: à *it in no MS. and* Mario Consule *it a mistake, for* trium cubitorum, *for* III. *which are for* trium *have been read* M. *and* C. *which stands for* Cubitorum, *as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read* Consule; *so the true reading of that passage is,* Scio mensuram trium cubitorum fuisse semper exactam.

He says that this absurd reading, *à* Mario *Consule*, is in all the printed Books of *Vegetius*; whereas it is only to be found in the *Paris* Edition.

They are the expres's words of *Godesc. Stewichius*; *Illud (à* Mario *Consule) glossarium esse rectè censuit* Janus Mellerus Palmerius, *neque id ulli libri agnoscunt, unâ* Parisiensi *editione excepta.*

excepta. In Comment. ad dict. Veget. *locum.*

In the Edition of *Paris, an.* MDXI. the words are thus printed, *Proceritatem Tyronum*, à Mario *Conſule ad Victoriam, ſcio ſemper exactam*, lib. 1. c. 5. In another *Paris* Edition, *anno* MDLIII. you'll find the ſame words: But the other Editions are quite and clean different here. I confeſs in the *Plantin* Edition *Raphelengii*, *anno* MDCVII. the ſame words are read in the Text, but with theſe words added in the Margin, *In optimis membranis eſt: Tyronum quondam ſcio ſemper exactam, puta, ut ſenos. Petrus Scriverius*, in his Notes upon the ſaid Place of *Vegetius* ſays, That once he ſuſpected, that *Vegetius* wrote, *A Conſule in area*, i. e. *Capitolina.* Where the Conſuls made their Muſters; but he adds, that in two of his MSS. theſe words are plainly read, *Ad* Incomam *ſcio ſemper exactam.* But in the *Palatine* MS. *Incoma.* Which ſerve to confirm *Salmaſius* his opinion on the ſaid Place. The forecited *Stewichius*

reads

reads thus in his MSS. *Proceritatem Tyronum ad incommoda ſcio ſemper exactam*, and that reading aforementioned, *Proceritatem, Tyronum*, ſc. *ſcio quondam ſemper exactam*, he would have corrected thus, that *commodam* ſhould be read for *quondam*, and for that reading he brings many and weighty reaſons, *Quas vide in Comment. ſuo ad* Veget. *l.* 1. *c.* 5. Of this *commoda ſtatura*, among others, thus *Plautus*, in his *Aſinaria*,

Qua facie noſter Saurea *eſt, ſi is eſt,*
Jam ſcire potero.

LI. *Macilentus malis, rufulus, aliquantum ventricoſus,*
Truculentis oculis, Commoda *ſtatura,*
triſti fronte.

this, *Commoda ſtatura, Stewichius* moſt learnedly demonſtrates to be one and the ſame with the middle and military ſtature.

Having thus ſet forth the Readings of others, and ſome of them not unluckily, let us now a little conſider the Reading of Mr. *Choriers* his MS. which to our Authour ſeems ſo plain

and

and beyond all exception. He says, that *à* is in no MS. and that all reade most falsly *Mario Consule* for *tribus cubitis*; for III. which signifies *tribus* they took for M. and C. which stands for *cubitis*, for *Consule*, as appears (they are the Doctour's words) by all that follows. But from hence we shall demonstrate, that this Reading is not so clear, but rather senseless. The whole, after our Authour's emendation runs thus; *Scio mensuram trium cubitorum fuisse semper exactam, ità ut senos pedes, vel certè quinos & denas uncias habentes inter alares equites, vel in primis legionum cohortibus haberentur*, l. 1. c. 5. Is the measure of three Cubits, thus explained here by six Foot, or at least five and ten Inches? Nonsense without doubt! For a Cubit is six Hands breadth, that is, 24 Digits, as *Vitruvius* says, and a Foot but four Hands breadth, which make sixteen Digits or twelve Inches, as *Frontinus*. Now if six Hands breadth, which make one Cubit, are multiplied by those three Cubits, which are re-

quired for the Stature of a Man, you have 18 Hands breadth, $3\frac{6}{12}$. On the other ſide, if you multiply the 4 Hands breadth, which make one Foot by thoſe ſix Foot, which *Vegetius* requires, there will be 24 hands breadth $4\frac{6}{12}$. Hence theſe words are thus to be explained, *Scio menſuram octodecim palmarum fuiſſe ſemper exactam, ità ut viginti quatuor palmas habentes*, &c. What ridiculous ſtuff is here? But let us grant that this laſt meaſure muſt be underſtood of others, and that of thoſe who are required for the firſt Cohorts of the Legions, and the firſt for others; yet this opinion will be nevertheleſs incongruous, while we believe ſo great a difference among the Souldiers to be requiſite, that it would be neceſſary to ſuppoſe the firſt Cohorts of the Legions, or the Wings of Horſe, to exceed the others a fourth part in the meaſure of their Bodies. Moreover, *Vegetius* ſpeaks of that meaſure as very rare, difficult and infrequent. For he ſays, this was then required, while there was a greater number

to

to be enrolled; *Hæc menſura tunc requirebatur cùm amplior eſſet multitudo, pluréſque militiam ſequerentur armatam,* l. 1. c. 5. But we are ſo far from believing a Man of three Cubits high to be large, that we rather think him much leſs than the ordinary ſtature of a Man; for the ordinary ſtature amounts to four Cubits.

V.

For ſince the being of the little Council leads one to the Syndicat, *which is the chief Honour of the State, this dignity is courted here (at* Geneva*) with as active and ſolicitous an ambition as appears elſwhere for greater matters.* Et paulò pòſt, *The Citizens of* Bern *conſider theſe Balliages as their inheritance, and they are courted in this ſtate, perhaps with as much intrigue as was ever uſed among the* Romans *in the diſtribution of their Provinces.* Pag. 1

Here the manner of courting Dignities ſeems very familiar to the Doc-

tour. But how insipid is he? whenever any one seeks out for a little office, if we may believe our Authour, he spares no pains, hazards, intrigues, nay, and wicked Plots also, as the *Romans* formerly for obtaining their Provinces. In describing of that great ambition of the *Romans*, many have taken great pains, and many Volumes are filled therewith; for we know, that besides many horrid and deep Plots, they made no bones to obtain one Province, though by the death of their Friends, and the extreme hazard of their Prince and Countrey. Now let us see what like Intrigues the Men of *Bern* use to give a Balliage, what pains they are at, what hazards they run, what enormities they perpetrate? These are our Authour's words; *All that they propose is, to make a Balliage sure to them, for this they feast and drink.* I have done.

VI.

VI.

And it is likely that by ſome conveyance under ground they may have come into Chanels, that fall into this Lake.

Our Authour wonders at the variety of Fiſhes in the Lake of *Geneva*, and anxiouſly diſputes, how it ſhould come to paſs, that one ſort of Fiſh, which before ſome years was never ſeen there, ſhould now be found therein; and, forſooth, he ſuſpects, that they came into the Lake by ſome ſubterraneous Chanels. But all to no purpoſe. For if he had enquired of one of the meaneſt Ruſticks or of thoſe that dwell near the Lake, he would doubtleſs have heard, that at ſuch a time of the year, they were obliged to fling in certain Veſſels full of ſundry ſorts of Fiſhes, which would ſoon have put an end to this ſo ſubtile Diſputation.

VII.

p.14. *It is not onely a great Pond made by the Rhoſne, that runs into it, but does not paſs through it unmix'd, as ſome Travellers have fondly imagined.*

Here the Doctour, out of his natural inclination of carping at others, argues all thoſe as guilty of great Folly or Falſhood, who affirm, that the Rhoſne, while it paſſes the Lake, keeps its Waters ſincere and unmixt, and abſolutely denies the truth of the matter. Yet it is well known, that *Sponius*, a moſt accurate Writer, in his Hiſtory of *Geneva*, is of the other ſide, and although he denies, that it paſſes the whole Lake unmixt, yet he affirms, that it paſſes for the ſpace of half an hour, without the leaſt mixture of the Lakes, Theſe are his words; *Puiſque nous parlons du Rhoſne & du Lac, il ne ſera pas hors de propos d'eclaircir une difficulté, que font naitre les Auteurs: qui eſt de ſcavoir, ſi le Rhoſne paſſe à travers de*

Lac

Lac ſans meler ſes eaux avec luy, & ſi l'on remarque ſon cours au milieu des eaux dorman, les du Lac—

Voicy ce qu' Ammien Marcellin *en a dit au liv. 15. de ſon Hiſtore. Et quoniam ad has partes opere contexto pervenimus,* &c. And becauſe we are come thus far, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak ſomething of that famous River of Rhoſne. The Rhoſne being enforced with a great plenty of Fountains, flows down from the Mountains called *Monte Maggiore di Sancto Bernhardo*, and haſting to the Plains with a prone impetuoſity, covers the Banks with its own violent Streams, and ſo flings itſelf into the Lake of *Geneva*, and paſſes through it unmixt, by reaſon of its rapid force, not waiting to join with thoſe ſlow and unactive Waters: whence without any loſs it is carried through the midſt of the Lake, and in its progreſs waters the *Dauphine* on the left ſide and the *Lyonois* on the right. *Pluſieurs Autheurs modernes ont ſuivy le ſentiment de cet ancien. En voicy la verité que j'ay ap-*

prise de plusieurs Personnes qui demeurent aux environs de ce Lac, & qui ont souvent passé d'un bord à l'autre. Le Rhosne entrant avec beaucoup de viteſſe dans le Lac, court environ une demi heure ou plus sans confondre ses eaux avec lui se faisant distinguer par sa couleur grisatre; mais vis à vis de Vevay, de Lauzanne, de Rolle & de Nions, c'est à dire presque toute la longueur du Lac, on ne scauroit aucunement distinguer le Rhosne par son mouvement, ni par sa couleur. Il est vray que depuis copet jusqu'à Geneve les fond du Lac commencent etre un peu en pante, il commence aussi loin des bords à s'ecouler tout doucement pour se decharger des eaux du Rhosne & des autres ruisseaux qu'il avoit receu dans son sein. Cette rapidité du Rhosne avant qu'entrer dans le Lac est cause d'une singularitè qui luy arrive en hyver en cet endroit là c'est que le fonds de cette riviere se gele souvent, sans que le dessus soit gelè, parcèque le fonds etant plus en repos est plutot surpris par le froid, au lieu que la surface est continuel-

muellement agite & renouvellée par l'eau qui luy ſuccede. Thus far *Sponius.*

VIII.

They have many Hoſpitals well entertained; in one I was told there was 650 Poor kept: but as they ſupport the real Charities which belong to ſuch Endowments, ſo they deſpiſe that vain magnificence of Buildings, which is too generally affected elſewhere. Pag. 49

What big words are theſe? He finds fault, and blames thoſe things which can never be enough commended, and reproves them even in the greateſt Princes of *Europe.* For thoſe who have happened to ſee *Paris* and *London*, do there admire a moſt magnificent Infirmery call'd *des Invalides*, and here *Bethlehem* and *Chelſey*, moſt ſplendid, ample and curious Palaces, and even thence make an eſteem of the Grandeur and Liberality of the two Kings of *England* and *France*, who have ſuch Care and Charity for poor, old, diſtracted and diſeaſed Men, that they receive them into their own Houſes,

ſes, or which is the ſame, into Houſſes worthy to be their own; nor do they onely receive them, but moſt plentifully relieve them by their Royal hands, with all things, Food and Cloaths, &c.

Yet our Authour finds fault with this Goodneſs, and calls it a vain Magnificence, which others deſpiſe. What good Man could pardon ſuch Malignity? Why doth he not equally blame the magnificent Structures of Temples? They are both dedicated to God. In the one we pray, that God would doe good unto us; in the other we doe good, as I may ſo ſay, to God. For what we give unto the poor, we lend unto the Lord.

And moreover, if we conſider the thing a little more heedfully, we ſhall find that theſe moſt ſplendid Houſes, thus ſet a-part for poor Men, are not onely an Effect, but alſo a Cauſe of Royal Liberality. For theſe Monuments being hereby continually in their view, they remember for what end they were erected, and becauſe

Fo-

Foreigners flock thither to satisfie their curiosity, for their own honour sake they take care that nothing be wanting: And so either their Piety extorts large donations, or ambition and love of Glory provokes them. Either of them bring a like advantage to the Poor, and hence any one may see how our Authour sins against the Poor, and that he may be suspected guilty of any crime, who blushes not to insult on the Sacred Majesty of Princes.

IX.

Among the Archives of the Dean and Chapter there is a vast Collection of Letters written either to Bullinger *or by him*, &c. *Of which I read almost a whole Volume while I was there: Most of them contain onely the general News, but some were more important, and relate to the Disputes then on foot, concerning the Habits of the Clergy, which gave the first beginnings to our unhappy Divisions: and by the Letters, of which I read*

Pag. 50, 51, 52.

I read the Originals, it appears, that the Biſhops preſerved the ancient Habits rather in compliance with the Queen's inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them. Et paulò poſt. *And in many Letters writ on that ſubject it is aſſerted, that both* Cranmer *and* Ridley *intended to procure an Act for aboliſhing the Habits, and they onely defended their lawfulneſs, and not their fitneſs.*

He ſays the Biſhops allow'd the Clergy to make uſe of their proper Habits onely out of compliance to Queen *Elizabeth*, who was very reſolute for the maintenance of them. Amongſt whom he ſeems to reckon *Cranmer*, notwithſtanding he died long before Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown. But this Point I ſhall leave to be diſcuſſed by them whom it may more nearly concern.

X.

Pag. 53. *The laſt particular, with which I intend to end this Letter might ſeem a little too learned.*

It

It seems our Authour is afraid lest, in spight of his Teeth, his Epistle should seem too learned. What a piece of extravagant arrogance is this? But I will proceed to confute him from his own words. Too much Learning can onely flow from him who hath too much of it; therefore our Authour hath too much Learning, and consequently he is either very badly learned, or very learnedly bad. But be it so! Let him have his own opinion, we won't fall out with him.

XI.

I have taken some pains in my Travels to examine all the ancient MSS. of the New Testament, concerning that doubted passage of St. John's *Epistle:* There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one. Bullinger *doubted much of it because he found it not in an ancient Latin MS. at* Zurich, *which seems to be about* 800 *years old: for it is written in that hand, that* Pag. 53

that began to be used in Charles *the Great's time. I turned the MS. and found the passage was not there, but this was certainly the errour or omission of the Copier.*

The Doctour confidently affirms, that the Copier, either out of errour or negligence, had omitted that doubted passage; *There are three*, &c. which he found not in the ancient MS. at *Zurich*, and he gives this reason for it, because before the general Epistles in that MS. the Preface of St. *Jerome* is to be found, in which he says, that he was the more exact in that Translation, that so he might discover the fraud of the *Arians*; who had struck out that passage concerning the Trinity. But what's all this? *Jerome* says he was very exact, that he might discover the Cheat of the *Arians*; not that he had effectually done it; and, indeed, that want of this place fully satisfies us of the contrary. And, certainly, this opinion is much more rational than that of the Doctour, who supposes it was omitted by the

the errour of the Copier. For it is very unlikely that he ſhould be ſo ſtupid or negligent to leave out thoſe very things upon whoſe account the Tranſlation was chiefly undertaken, as the Preface would inform him: But there needs not much confutation, ſince our Authour obligingly himſelf has taken the pains to doe it. For he ſays, that in many other places he hath ſeen ancient MS. Bibles which have wanted that paſſage; though the ſame Preface of St. *Jerome* hath been prefixed to them. And firſt he mentions thoſe of *Baſil.* Take his very words, *pag.* 55. "There are two "Greek MSS. of the Epiſtles at *Ba-* "*ſil* that ſeem to be about 500 years "old, in neither of which this paſ- "ſage is to be found: they have alſo "an ancient Latin Bible, which is a- "bout 800 years old, in which though "St. *Jerome's* Prologue is inſerted, "yet this Paſſage is wanting. Second- "ly, thoſe at *Strasburg*: At *Strasburg* "I ſaw four very ancient MSS. of the "New Teſtament in Latin: three of

"theſe

" theſe ſeem to be about the time of " *Charles* the Great, but the fourth " ſeem'd to be much ancienter, and " may belong to the ſeventh Centu- " ry: in it neither the Prologue nor " the Place is extant, but it is added " at the foot of the Page with ano- " ther hand. In two of the other the " Prologue is extant, but the Place " is not: onely in one of them it is " added in the margin.

Were ſo many Copiers therefore exact in every thing elſe, and did they, through negligence, fail in the Tranſlation of this onely Paſſage; or, did they commit an errour by joint conſent? Nevertheleſs I do not ſay thus much to defend *Arianiſm*, which is not indeed my ſentiment, but to ſhew the cunningneſs and malignity of our Authour, who (as many others have done) ſeems to oppoſe that Sect with ſuch weak Arguments, on purpoſe to eſtabliſh it the better.

XII.

XII.

And with this I will finish my account Pag.
of Zurich; *the publick Library is very noble; the Hall in which it is placed is large and well contrived; there is a very handsome Cabinet of Medals, and so I will break off.*

And thus, saith the Doctour, I will finish my account; and that you may believe him, he presently repeats it again; and so I will break off. Which truly is a great sign that our Authour hath laid aside much of his natural Pride and Haughtiness, for not being ignorant, that he hath often maintained falsities, he neither believes nor desires that any one should credit what he says, unless he twice repeat it. And indeed our worthy Oratour, by his flashes, hopes that his Tautology will be so much the more acceptable to his Readers, by how much they desire that pleasant thing which he promiseth.

XIII.

356. *But when I have gone so much farther, that I have gathered materials for another Letter of this Volume, you may look for a second Entertainment such as it is from your*, &c.

Our Authour would fain be thought to have written this Epistle at *Zurich* in the very hurry and disorder of his journey, and so the haste it was penn'd in might sufficiently excuse whatsoever errour or mistake he was guilty of in it, or in any other of his following Epistles, which he would make us believe were composed under the same disadvantage; nor do we at all hinder his design, neither indeed is there any need for it, since our Authour is so extravagantly vain as to betray himself and in his own words detect his fallacy, and to tell us that he has often put the wrong name of the Place in the front of his Epistles.

Believe me, whatever specious Titles his Letters may carry, as *Zurich*, *Mi-*

Milan, *Florence*, *Rome*, or the like, they were all compoſed at *Amſterdam*. But if you have a greater opinion of the Doctour than to ſuppoſe him guilty in any manner of ſuch childiſh matters, give your ſelf but the trouble to conſult the 7, 54, 55, and 56. pages, and you cannot chuſe but ſmile to hear him ſpeak of the Affairs and Paſſages he ſaw at *Venice*, *Rome* and *Florence*, while he was yet among the *Switzers*. *At* Rome (he ſays, *Pag.* 7.) *the Pope buys in all the Corn of the Patrimony, and he buys it at five Crowns their meaſure, and even that is ſlowly and ill paid, ſo that there was* 800000 *Crowns owing upon that ſcore when I was at* Rome. Pages 54, 55, 56. *There is a MS. in St.* Mark's *Library in* Venice, *in three Languages*, &c. *and in a MS. Bible in the Library of St.* Laurence *at* Florence, *both St.* Jerome's *Preface and this Paſſage are extant*, &c. *At* Strasburg *I ſaw four very ancient MSS.* &c. *It ſeemed ſtrange to me, and it is almoſt incredible that in the* Vatican *Library there are no ancient*

Latin Bibles, where, above all other Places, they ought to be look'd for; but I saw none above 400 *years old.* The like you find in many other of his Epistles, which I here forbear to write.

XIV.

Pag. 61. *While they were under the* Austrian *and* German *yoke.*

Whosoever hath read our Authour's Book against Mr. *Varillas* his History of the Revolutions that have happen'd in *Europe* in matters of Religion cannot but know how much he plays the Fool with him, when he makes the Emperour and King of *Spain*, both which Titles were most happily united in the most August Prince *Charles* the Fifth, two quite different Persons, when that one can scarce refrain from smiling, when he sees that he himself falls under the same mistake; he makes two Nations of the *Austrians* and *Germans*, onely that he might the more aggravate the misery and calamities of the *Switzers*, at that time grievously

ly oppreſſed, and favour their cauſe, if he can perſuade his Readers that they were vexed by two Nations at one time. Hence he argues ſophiſtically of their ſubjection firſt to the *Auſtrians* and ſecondly to the *Germans*.

Neither can any think that he added to the *Auſtrian* the *German* Name, that he might diſtinguiſh them from the *Spaniſh* Line, when any one who is indifferently read in Hiſtory, will ſufficiently know that the diviſion of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in the Line of *Ferdinand* and *Charles*, and this called the *Spaniſh* Line, did not happen till a great many years after the *Switzers* had obtained their Liberty.

The Argument of the second Letter from Milan, October *the* 1st.

IN this Epiſtle there are many notable Paſſages concerning the *Griſons* or *Rhæti Alpini*, and the Biſhop of *Coire*, who is their chief Magiſtrate: as alſo of the Liberty they are allow'd in all Matters both Sacred and Civil, onely with this Reſtriction, that each Diſtrict or Territory are obliged to profeſs one onely Religion, either *Roman Catholick* or *Proteſtant*, to which if they won't agree, they are forced to depart from that Countrey. In the next place there is a very pleaſant and accurate account of the neighbouring Places, which are in ſubjection to the *Griſons*, as *Valteline*, *Chavenne* and *Bormio*; but more particularly of the diſturbances which have been cauſed by Religion; in all which the King of *Spain*, the King of *France*, and the Pope have mightily intereſſed themſelves,

ſelves, and alſo of the pleaſantneſs and fertility of each Place. He ſays, that thoſe Towns of the *Switzers* that are nigh the Lake *Carius*, (now called *Como*) which were taken formerly from the Dutchy of *Millaine*, differ much as to the pleaſantneſs of their ſituations, but yet by reaſon of the eaſineſs of the Government they lie under and the Liberty they enjoy, are become as popular as any Places about all *Italy* whatſoever. But, as for the Dutchy of *Millaine* it ſelf, although it comes behind none for its ſituation, yet by reaſon of the intolerable ſeverity of the Taxes is very much beggar'd and reduc'd to a moſt miſerable condition: but, for all this, it abounds with ſtately and magnificent Temples and Monaſteries, to which belong many rare conſecrated Veſſels of great worth. He commends Furniture and other Conveniences of the Inns and Hoſpitals. He takes notice that the *Ambroſian* Library, founded by Cardinal *Frederick Borromee* is furniſh'd with an excellent collection of Books. He alſo makes

mention of some particulars found in the MS. of *Ambrose* and of a certain Tract concerning the Sacrament. Hence he gathers that the Rites and Canons of the Mass are very new, for (says he) I could find no mention of any at all before the days of *Charles* the Great, not even in the *Vatican* it self, and therefore it is to be suspected they were suppress'd lest the alteration should ever come to be found out. He met with likewise a very old Book in the Library at *Milan* which is the Translation of *Josephus* by *Ruffinus*. In his postscript he tells you of a certain Maid whose name is *Walkier* (which he forgot to mention in his account of *Geneva*) who when she was a little Child, although she lost almost the sight of both her Eyes, yet understood a great many Arts and Sciences, and onely by feeling the Letters, which were carv'd out in wood, learnt very distinctly to write.

REFLEXIONS.

XV.

And the Burning did not seem a month old. Pag. 6

The Bishop of *Coire* (it seems) shew'd him some Relicks of *S. Emerita*, Sister to *Lucius*, who was burn'd there, amongst which there was a Piece of her Veil, but that he may the more manifestly detect the cheat; he says the Burning did not seem a month old. Certainly he must be a very wise Man who could so nicely distinguish.

If any curious Antiquaries should by chance find some ancient Urns, they need not be much troubled to find out the Antiquity of them; our ingenious Authour here would certainly be a great help to them, who with onely looking upon the Ashes would exactly tell them what age, what year, (and, indeed, I may say) in what month the Bodies were buried; and I don't doubt, but that with the same

small

ſmall trouble of caſting his Eye upon them, he could faithfully tell whether they were Males or Females, Gentlemen or Plebeians, to the wonderfull admiration of all Men. I could here tell a pleaſant Story of a certain poor Peaſant and a Gentleman, that bears almoſt as much ſenſe as this of the Doctour, who walking together in a Church-yard, the Peaſant, ſeeing a great heap of dead mens Skulls, ask'd the Gentleman, if he could diſtinguiſh between a Gentleman's skull and another Man's. O, yes ſays he, for the Gentlemens are clean and white, the common Peoples are black and naſty. It happen'd, that as they went on towards the City, the Peaſant diſcry'd the heads of ſome Malefactours ſtuck up before the Gates, which, according to the cuſtome were very white; whereupon the Peaſant cry'd out, O Sir, look yonder; theſe are all Gentlemens Heads! But I ſhall forbear here to carry on my ſtory leſt it be ſaid of me and my Authour, that too much learning has made us both mad.

XVI.

XVI.

The chief belonged to the Archdukes of Inſpruck. Pag. 65

We know who the Archdukes of *Auſtria* are, but as for the Archdukes of *Inſpruck*, neither any Politician or Hiſtorian has ever yet mentioned them. So that here we may learn how great the Profit of travelling is, eſpecially that of the Doctour's, who has now at laſt made a Diſcovery of theſe Archdukes, who otherwiſe had forever remain'd in ſilence and obſcurity. But here we muſt beg the favour of him to ſatisfie us a little more fully of the buſineſs, and (if he pleaſe) according to his uſual ingenuity to give a Genealogy of them, and let his own Printer have the benefit of printing them. But till then let him pardon me, if I tell him he is much miſtaken, when he does erect into an Arch-dutchy, with a more than Papal Authority, the plain City of *Inſpruck*, which is one of thoſe of the County of

of *Tyroll* belonging to the Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*.

XVII.

Pag. 71. *Though it muſt be confeſs'd it was a little too rough and barbarous for the ſex.*

The Doctour ſeems to have a more than ordinary kindneſs for the Female ſex. In a certain Town of the *Griſons* (ſays he) which all the men for fear of the *Auſtrians*, their Enemies, had forſook, there were a great many Souldiers quartered, and ſuppoſing the Town having nothing in it but Women, they could receive no injury from them; but the Women reſolved to let their Husbands ſee that they were capable of contriving and executing of a bold action (though indeed it was a little too rough and barbarous for the ſex) they enter'd therefore into a Combination, to cut the Throats of all the Souldiers at one time. The Woman that propoſed this had four Souldiers in her Houſe, and ſhe, with her own hands,

hands, dispatched them all: Now that so bold an Action should be put in Execution by a Woman seems to our tender-hearted Authour but a little too rough. But we need not wonder if from so brave a Defence of the Female sex he gain'd nothing, since he who just now before seem'd to patronize the Deed, in his very next words brands it with the name of an unheard of Cruelty; *not one Souldier escaping to carry away the News of so unheard-of a rage.*

XVIII.

The Papists of Quality endeavour much to keep their People in order, but they acknowledged to my self that the Protestants were much peaceabler than the Catholicks. Pag. 74

Here any one would think the Doctour spake of three Religions. He says the Papists told him *the Protestants were much more peaceable than the Catholicks.* In his History of the Reformation he often calls his own Church the

the Catholick; now if he means so here too, the sense of his words is this, The Protestants are much peaceabler than the Protestants. Truly a most ingenious Sentence, and in every respect becoming so worthy an Authour.

XIX.

Pag. 78. *For this passes for a Maxime, That no Man must dye unless he confesseth himself guilty.*

Here our Authour, without any reason, makes a great Admiration, and takes notice of it as such a particular privilege, whereas it is so almost in all other Places in *Germany*, according to the *Saxon* Law.

XX.

Pag. 82. *The* French *saw of what advantage it was to them not to let this Pass from* Italy *into* Germany, *fall into the hands of the* Spaniards.

Certain-

Certainly it must rather be the concern of the Republick of *Venice*, than the *French* to hinder the *Spaniards* from taking *Valteline*. For having *Tyrol* on one side, and the Dutchy of *Milan* on the other, the *Spaniards* would have an opportunity of joining Forces with his Imperial Majesty, and so would be able to put a stop to what supply soever might come from any other part to *Italy*, but especially to the Republick of *Venice*, which is almost surrounded by the Emperour and the King of *Spain*, which the *Grisons* are aware of, and knowing after what manner the Governour of *Milan* designed to treat with those of the *Valteline*, immediately sent to the *Venetians*, to desire their assistence, which thing gave certainly more troubles to the *Venetians* than all the strength and valour of the *Italians* was ever able to doe.

XXI.

This was supported by the Fuentes. Pag. 80.

This

This Fortreſs was built by a Count of the ſame name, who adviſed his King to take *Monaco*, *Final* and *Valteline*, that he might with the more eaſe reduce all the Princes of *Italy* under his own Power. And that he himſelf might open the way to ſo great an Enterprize, he built his Caſtle juſt by the mouth of the River *Adda* (the Doctour ſays, by the Lake of *Como*) which was the cauſe of that long and terrible War of the *Griſons*.

XXII.

Pag. 84. *Among the* Griſons *the* Roman *Law prevails, modified a little by their Cuſtoms. One that was a little particular, was executed when I was there. A Man that hath an Eſtate by his Wife, enjoys it after her death, as long as he continues a Widower; but when he marries again, he is bound to divide it among the Children that he hath by her.*

Here again the Doctour wonders at this particular Cuſtome of the *Griſons*,

as

as he calls it, which notwithstanding is according to the *Saxon* Law.

XXIII.

They complained much to me of a great Coldness in their People in the Matters of Religion. Pag. 8

The Doctour cannot find in his heart to let even the *Grisons* themselves escape, notwithstanding the great love and affection he pretended to have for them a little before, but taxes them with Coldness in their Devotion, and says, that several of the Ministers of that Place complained to him of the same thing. But what would he say now, if I should accuse him of Calumny? Suppose I should produce a Witness against him that he himself must acknowledge to be a sufficient one. Why then, to say the truth, it is the Doctour himself, who (according to his usual Custome) in this Place is a Witness against himself. For but a little before, these very People whom he now finds so much fault with, he sets

forth as a great example of Piety and Godlineſs. Take his very words; *It was matter of much Edification to ſee the great numbers both here, and all* Switzerland *over, that came every day to Prayers, both morning and evening.*

XXIV.

Pag. 87. *But it ſeems in all Common-wealths Inn-keepers think they have a right to exact upon Strangers, which one finds here as well as in* Holland *or* Switzerland.

But why ſhould he ſay, that this happens onely in Common-wealths, when the ſame hard uſage happens to Strangers almoſt in all Kingdoms, and particularly in *France*; where they ask you what comes next to their Tongues end, and think there is no ſuch thing as Juſtice or Injuſtice in the matter, becauſe they onely ask you: ſo that having dreined your Purſe ſufficiently, you may ſleep very ſoundly, without the leaſt fear of any farther damage. But this proceeds onely from the ignorance of the Language, for

for those that are throughly acquainted with it, before they make use of a thing, they ask the price of it, and in bargaining bid as much or as little as they please. And here you see the Doctour most unjustly accuses the Republick of that which was in reality the fault of his own Ignorance; for he himself has often confess'd, that he did not understand the Language of that Countrey.

XXV.

Though it may seem the reverse of Pag. 60
what one ought to expect, since the richest Countrey of Europe *is full of Beggars, and the* Grisons, *that are one of the poorest States, have no Beggars at all.*

Here again the Doctour's reasoning seems to be very dull, making such a wonderfull Admiration at such plain things, which are obvious even to common sense. For where's the wonder to see no Beggars in a very poor Village, where the Inhabitants being

accuſtom'd to poverty, earn their Bread by their daily labour, and by continual ploughing a barren Land, they at laſt make it in ſome ſmall degree fruitfull. Neither can they expect any thing from their Neighbours who have ſcarcely a competency for themſelves; ſo that you may as eaſily wreſt *Hercules* his Club out of his hand, as a half-penny out of theirs. But on the other ſide; in a fruitfull Countrey where there is plenty of all things, the Inhabitants are too much given to Luxury, and therefore ſeldom or never work, truſting to the goodneſs of their Soil, which at firſt with a little Tillage is very fruitfull, till at length, being almoſt wholly neglected, it becomes barren, and deſervedly fruſtrates the lazy expectation of the Owner. Then again, by reaſon of the great concourſe of rich Men, who, partly becauſe they can ſpare it, and partly out of vain-glory give great Alms, and ſo encourage the lazineſs of others, whoſe onely labour conſiſts in compoſing ſome few words, by which they may

may move the pity, or, at leaſt, the vanity of others. Hence it is we find ſo many rich Beggars in *England*, who, although their Purſe is full, will not leave Begging, as if cuſtome had made them take a delight therein.

XXVI.

One thing is alſo ſtrange, that among the Griſons *the rich Wine of* Valteline, *after it is carried three days journey, is ſold cheaper than the Wines of other Countries, where it grows at the door.* Pag. 90. 91.

The Doctour wonders again, why the *Valteline* Wine ſhould ſell for leſs abroad than it does at home. And indeed there would be ſome reaſon for admiration, but that he ſubjoins immediately after a very good reaſon; for (ſays he) here is no Cuſtome to be paid: Therefore indeed that thing is not at all ſtrange, ſince it is well known that the Cuſtome of a Commodity often exceeds the Price it ſelf.

XXVII.

Pag. 99. *And the two Crowns in* Francis *the First and* Charles *the Fifth's time.*

Having, as long as he well durſt, abuſed his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, he thinks now to ſooth him up with fair words, and begins here to flatter him after a moſt prepoſterous manner, by putting *Francis* the Firſt, King of *France*, before *Charles* the Fifth, that moſt renowned and great Emperour; with the ſame Authority, I'll warrant you, as a little before, he would have chang'd a City in a County into an Arch-dukedom. Give me leave here to produce the words of a Countreyman of his, I mean *Barclay*, in his *Icone Anim.* c. 7. *Nihil in* Germanica *Gente magnificentius quàm quòd nomen ſummi Imperii aquilámq; ſibi habet tanquam* Romam Germania *vicerit*, & *Provinciarum ultima*, *quæ* Italico *jugo acceſſit*, *jam ſit ſola in qua nomen atque reliquiæ Fortunæ* Romanæ *acquieverint. Tanti nominis ſancta Majeſtas nulla ſociorum Prin-*

Principum æmulatione corrumpitur, Regésque quanquam viribus sæpè majores sponte Imperatorio culmini concedunt.

XXVIII.

The Dome (at Milan*) hath nothing* Pa. 105
to commend it of Architecture, it being built in a rude Gothick *manner; but, for the vastness and richness of the building, it is equal to any in* Italy, *St.* Peter's *it self not excepted.*

How could the Doctour know this, when at the same time he was at *Milan*; he had never as yet seen St. *Peter's*: so that this confirms (what I before mentioned) *viz.* that he was rather among his Friends, the *Hollanders*, when he wrote these Letters. But perhaps we wrong the Doctour, by laying the fault of the Printer upon him, who, instead of dating these Letters from *Amsterdam* or *Rotterdam*, by mistake, or perhaps willingly, dated them from *Milan*. For we know it is a common thing there, among the Printers, when for a little gain they

print some scandalous Libel, never to put the true name of the Place in the Title-page.

XXIX.

Pa.108. *The Hospital is indeed a Royal Building.*

How inconstant is our Authour's Judgment? and, in how high a manner is he either imprudent or worse? for in this place he either commends magnificent Buildings of Hospitals, which just now he so dispraised and despis'd, which is the part of an imprudent Man, or else he makes the words Royal and Despicable to bear the same signification, which none surely but a very impudent fellow would ever dare to doe.

XXX.

Pa.115. *They have no Glass-windows, which is an effect of their Poverty.*

You'll find a great many great and rich Men in *Italy* who make use of Paper-

Paper-windows, becauſe they think they give a truer and more conſtant light. Nay, the Doctour himſelf takes notice of this to be a ſign of Poverty in *Florence* and *Milan*, forgetting how much a little before he had admired theſe very Cities for beauty and wealth. But this is an ill Cuſtome our Authour hath got of calling at his pleaſure the ſame People rich and poor, religious and irreligious; nor does he doubt of ever being blamed for it, ſo long as he can perſuade his Readers he wrote theſe Letters whilſt he was in the midſt of his Travels.

The

The Argument of the third Letter from Florence, Novem. *the* 5th.

OUR Authour coming into the Countrey of the *Venetians* obſerves that it is better cultivated and peopled than any of the others that lye round about it, the Inhabitants living under a more mild and eaſie Government. Onely the City of *Padua* he excepts, which is indeed a very large City, but very thin of Inhabitants, by reaſon of the continual quarrels among them, which he takes notice to be very frequent throughout the whole Countrey of the *Venetians*, inſomuch that they either cannot ſuppreſs ſo great a Calamity, or elſe it does not ſuit with the Profit and Advantage of the Senate ſo to doe. In St. *Anthony*'s Chapel there is a Verſe that he taxes with Blaſphemy, *viz.*

Exaudit, quos non audit & ipſe Deus.

St. *Anthony* hears thoſe that God will not.

not. He ſpeaks alſo of many fine old Rarities in the City of *Venice*. He doth not much commend St. *Mark's* Library, all the Greek MSS. being modern. He went alſo to the Convent of the *Servitans*, but found Father *Paul* was not in ſo great eſteem there as he is elſewhere, but he ſuppoſed all his memorials are preſerved with great care in their Archives, and as they are of great importance, ſo they are become much controverted by the different relations that Father *Paul* and Cardinal *Pallavicini* have given the World of the matter; and that the onely way to put an end to all diſputes in matter of fact is, to print the Originals themſelves. He makes mention alſo of the enquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church, occaſioned by the famous Diſpute between *Arnaud* and Mr. *Claude*. He gives a deſcription of the Republick, and alſo of the office and dignity of a Doge; in like manner you have a relation of the Nobility and particular Families calld the *Ducali*, and how they had their name from a certain Faction,

Faction, that was between these Families in the year 1450. a Combination being made at that time between those, to preserve the Dukedom still among them, which continued till the year 1620. He tells how that the *Venetian* Prelates have indeed a great Title, but very small Power, the Senate overruling them. The Priests of the City (says he) are created by the Votes of the People, and that not without much canvasing, and a publick railing at their Competitours. He takes notice also that the Clergy use as much Liberty as the Laity, of which even some of the Colleges of the Monasticks are guilty. The Power (says he) of the Inquisition is not so great as formerly, the Senators being now included, without whom they can exact nothing. That it is hard to distinguish the Protestants from the Papists that live at *Venice*, the Sacrament being carried to the Sick without any great Ceremony. He tells you also very plainly of the default of the Republick and Senate, and gives the reason why they

they ſo often confer the honour of Senatours upon new Families, and how without making any probation of their deſerts as they ought to have done formerly, they choſe 70 new Families into the Senate at one time. He tells you many ſtories concerning the proceedings in the cauſes and Perſons of the Nobility, and of the great power the Inquiſitours have in caſe of Treaſon, and which in the opinion of the wiſeſt Men is the preſervative and ſafeguard of the publick honour and grandeur, although perhaps it may ſeem ſtrange to Foreigners. From *Venice* our Authour paſſes to *Ferrara* which he ſays has formerly been a very ſplendid and flouriſhing City, but now is become very deſtitute of Inhabitants, and miſerable, as it happens in many other places which belong to the Pope, by reaſon of the intolerable Taxes that are impoſed on the Inhabitants. Here (ſays he) they heap up all their Treaſures in the Churches and Monaſteries, as it was uſual heretofore, out of Superſtition, ſo now out of Ambition and

and womanish Pride. The Air also (he tells you) about *Ferrara* and *Campania* is very unhealthy, for want of People to cleanse the Ditches and standing Waters. *Bologna* (says he) is not so conveniently situated as some other Cities which are in the Pope's Dominions, yet it flourisheth, because the Inhabitants still retain great part of their publick Liberty. He says that the *Hebrew* Bible, which the Canons regular of St. *Salvator* have in possession, and which they believe was written by *Ezra*'s own hand, does not contain the tenth part of the Ancient Testament. There is a very curious and exact meridional Line in Brass at Saint *Petrones*, which he highly commends, as also, among others, the Statue of the Popess *Johanna* in Brass, though the People of the Town say it's Pope *Nicholas* the Fourth. He allows that the new Church built by the great Duke, is a very stately and magnificent Building, but he seems to be much offended, that the Statues should be naked. He says there are a great many choice

MSS.

MSS. in St. *Laurence*'s Library, and a very few printed Books; but for those he thinks the goodness makes a [illegible] cient recompence: but that which pleased him most was, that the Library-keeper assured him, that there was lately found a famous Epistle of Saint *Chrysostome*'s to *Cæsarius*, in *Greek*, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the MSS. of that Father's Books, of which they have a great many: but he complains that, upon search, he could not find them; and moreover says, that a very Learned Man told him, the Library-keeper was a very ignorant fellow, neither understood the *Greek* Tongue, nor was verst in Manuscripts. He adds also concerning *Tuscany*, that it is in as poor and miserable a condition as *Lombardy*, for as in *Lombardy*, they begg'd for the sake of St. *Anthony*, so in *Florence*, they all beg for the Souls which are in Purgatory, which desolation he makes to flow from nothing but the severity of the Taxes, the decay of Trade, and the vast unaccoun-

accountable Charges they are at, in inriching their Covents and Monasteries. Yet on the other side, he says, in the Coast of *Genua* there are many Towns and Villages which, although they lye upon a very boisterous Sea, and are exposed to a great many Inconveniences, yet are very populous and wealthy, so that money goes for two *per Cent.*

REFLEXIONS.

XXXI.

Pa.125. *The* Venetians *have been willing to let the ancient quarrels that were in all those conquered Cities continue among them,* (the Nobility.)

All other Men that have not so superficially examined those Affairs as the Doctour here seems to have done, and do throughly understand the whole matter, say the quite contrary. Among the rest there is *Monsieur Amelot de la Hussaie,* who being Secretary to the *French* Ambassadour at *Venice,* was particularly acquainted with all

all the publick Affairs, as having made it his busines and whole employment for several years, and has writ a very elegant Book concerning this Republick. Him therefore we will bring in to confute him in several places; for, I suppose, his words will carry a greater weight, when it is plain, that a Person who has been employed in publick affairs and negotiations, and that for many years, in that City of *Venice*, must needs understand better the constitution of that Common-wealth than a simple Minister, whose business is onely to be conversant about matters of another World, and that has lurked in that City but a fortnight. Now the words of *Monsieur Amelot*, in his Government of *Venice*, directly contradict these of our Authour. *As to the Nobility* (these are his words) *the Senate takes particular care to maintain them in unity, knowing well that animosity is dangerous in a Free State*, (Periculosiores sunt inimicitiæ juxta Libertatem, *Tac.* de Morib. *Germ.*) *and that division among the Governours has*

been the ruine of many a Common-wealth, witness the Revolution at Florence *and* Verone, *that happened onely upon the quarrels and factions betwixt their principal Citizens. To prevent these ill Consequences, the Senate takes notice of the least difference betwixt the Nobility, and without expecting till the fire is kindled, it choaks it in its embers, and stops its progress by their vigilance and authority.* He afterwards adds a great many Examples, of which this is one; *A Gentleman of the Family* Da Ponte *threatning another call'd* Canale, *that he would prove the* Pontes *above the* Canales; *the other replying, but the* Canales *were before the* Pontes, *and the* Pontes *had never been but for the* Canales. The Senate send them word, that they could choak up the Chanals and pull down the Bridges when they pleas'd.

XXXII.

p.127. *But the* Venetians *are so jealous of their Subjects understanding military mat-*

matters, which may dispose them to a revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars. This jealousie is the true ground of that maxim, though another is pretended that is more plausible, which is their care of their own People, whom they study to preserve, and therefore they hire Strangers, rather than expose their Subjects.

Herein our Authour imitates *Tacitus*, who very often pries more curiously into the Secrets of Princes than a good Man ought, and sometimes puts a bad Interpretation upon Counsells that are of themselves fair enough. How pernicious this way of Writing is, and how unbecoming a Divine, there is no body but knows. For let them boast as much as they please of these political Oracles of *Tacitus*; yet, whether these cunning and sagacious guesses have done more hurt than good in Common-wealths, whether they rather increase mens prudence or their craft, to speak the most favourably of them, is yet in dispute.

XXXIII.

l.129. *By the great Losses the* Venetians *have suffered in their Wars.*

But these are all now abundantly recompensed by their good success in the present War with the *Turks*, and by their taking away from them all the *Morea*, and many other strong places.

XXXIV.

l.131. *It's true, it is all that this State hath.*

The Doctour says there is onely one Arsenal in all the *Venetian* Republick. But, with his leave, there are two more in the City it self in St. *Mark's* Palace, that the Nobles may have Arms, if by chance any tumult should be raised, while they are sitting in the great Council. 'Tis true indeed, they are not to be compared with that mentioned by the Authour, but yet they must not be looked on as none at all.

XXXV.

XXXV.

The Redemptore *and the* Salute *are two Noble Churches that are the effects of Vows, that the Senate made, when they were afflicted with the Plague. The latter is much the finer, it is to the Virgin, and the other is onely to our Saviour; so naturally doth the devotion of that Church carry it higher for the Mother than the Son.* Pa. 13

How ſcurrilouſly doth he jeſt on our Saviour's name! He ſays there are two Churches at *Venice*, the one which is much the finer is to the Virgin; the other is onely to our Saviour. Theſe words (onely to our Saviour) are ſo impious, that they make all good Men deteſt him. What? Muſt he, to play upon the Papiſts his Adverſaries, proſtitute *Chriſt*'s ſacred Name? And beſides, he does them great wrong when he endeavours to prove by ſo frivolous and profane an Argument, that they honour the Virgin *Mary* more than *Chriſt* himſelf, which yet he deſtroys

by the words that follow in the Text. *It is true the* Salute *is later than the other, so no wonder if the Architecture and the Richness exceed that which is more ancient.*

XXXVI.

p.133. *Father* Paul.

This is *Paul Sarpius*, who, under the name of *Petrus Suavis*, wrote the History of the Council of *Trent*, which *Jac. Augustus Thuanus* liked so well, that he used to say, that he onely among all the modern Historians was equal to any of the Ancients.

XXXVII.

p.134. *By the famous Dispute between Mr.* Arnauld *and Mr.* Claude, & paulò pòst. *He added one thing, that though he firmly believed Transubstantiation, he did not think that they (the* Greeks*) believed it.*

And yet I saw at *Paris*, in the Library of the Abby of S. *Germain*, a MS.

Let-

Letter of the famous *Olearius*, which contradicts this opinion. For when he was Secretary of that famous Embassy of the Duke of *Holstein* to the King of *Persia* and to the great Duke of *Moscovy*, he was desired by several Learned Men from *Paris*, when he came into *Moscovy*, to enquire about this matter, because the *Greek* Religion was there professed, which he in his Answers promised to doe with all possible diligence. Now he plainly affirms that they stedfastly believe Transubstantiation. Neither ought we to call his credit into question, seeing it is clear he favours the *Lutherans*, and this makes more for the Papists; nor the honesty of the Owners of the Letters, for I know his hand very well, having before seen in *Holstein* the History of the whole Embassy written with his own hand.

XXXVIII.

Her (Cornara Piscopia) *Father having entertained a* Gondalier's *daugh-* Pa. 136

ter so long that he had some Children by her, at last, for their sakes, married the Mother, and paid a considerable fine to save the forfeiture of Nobility, which her Children must have undergone by reason of the meanness of their Mothers birth.

The Doctour hath not understood this thing so well as he should have done. For he says that *John Baptista Cornaro Piscopia*, the Father of that Noble Maid *Cornara Piscopia*, paid a fine for marrying a *Gondalier*'s daughter; which is false. For the Children he had by that Wife did *ipso facto* lose their Nobility; which their Father purchased for them, as the rest of the Plebeians do, during the War in *Candia*. And not for all them neither, but onely for two Sons, as *Amelot* says, in his Government of *Venice*, C. II. Sect. 11. And here we may observe, that the *Venetians* detract nothing from their Nobility, except their Wives be of very mean extraction, for they may marry the daughters of their Citizens that are not Noble (as Secretaries of the State, Advocates, Notaries, Physicians,

ans, Merchants, and the like;) and indeed by this way the Nobles frequently repair their ruinous Estates; for none of the Plebeians, though never so rich refuse to marry their daughters to the Nobility, both for the honours and their securities sake. And from hence accrues no small profit to the Republick: for by such marriages many of the Nobility are enabled of themselves to bear the Charges of Embassies and other costly Offices. But those that without the consent of the great Council make such contracts, forfeit their Nobility.

XXXIX.

By reason of the meanness of the Mothers birth the Cornara's *carry it so high.* Pa. 136

Here the Doctour's connexion is very ridiculous, for if you weigh the words well together with the adjoining, the meaning of them will appear to be this; That the *Cornara's* are so proud of their Mothers ignobility, that

that several Maids of that Family have turn'd Nuns, disdaining to change so noble a Name for any other; a noble Name for their ignobility. I know indeed this is not the Doctour's meaning; but he makes himself the more ridiculous in that he and his words cannot agree.

XL.

p.140. *It is indeed a wonder to see the dignity of the Duke so much courted.*

In this Place our Authour, if in any place else, not onely shamefully contradicts himself, but contradicts his contradiction also. He says here, its a wonder to see the dignity of the Duke so much courted by the *Venetian* Nobility. A little after, when he hath reckoned up all the inconveniences and burthens that he is obliged to bear, he adds; *that it is no strange thing to see some of the greatest families decline it.* In the following page he directly contradicts these words again: for there he expressly affirms, that

that *the greateſt part of the beſt families court this honour of Dukedom extremely.* Who can bear ſuch idle Prating.

XLI.

All the family, if ever ſo numerous, Ibid. *muſt retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is choſen out of it.*

Not all the Family out of which a Duke is choſen, is obliged to leave the Senate, as the Doctour ſays, but onely the Brothers and Children of the Duke. And they indeed are excluded likewiſe from all the chief Offices of the State as long as the Duke lives. They cannot be Members of the College, nor of the Council of Ten, nor Aſſeſſours at the Bench in criminal Matters: they muſt not ſeek Biſhopricks, Abbies nor other Preferment in the Pope's diſpoſal; nay, they muſt not take any though offered. So in the year 1622. Cardinal *Mathias Prioli* refuſed the Biſhopriek of *Bergamo* profered him by the Pope, while his

Father

Duke *Anthony* was yet alive. So *Frederick Cornaro*, in the same manner, refused the Rich Bishoprick of *Padua*, though the Pope was very angry, and earnestly advised him to take it, though contrary to the Laws of his Countrey. And this indeed is the true reason why so many Families decline the Dukedom. Mr. *Amelot*, in the forementioned Book, truly and elegantly applies that saying of *Antoninus Pius*, when he was made Emperour, to the Duke of *Venice*; *Postquam ad Imperium transivimus, etiam quæ habuimus perdidimus.* But they that refuse the Dukedom, when profered them are sent into Banishment, and their Goods are seized. So they made Dukes, against their will, *Andrew Contarinus* in the *Liguſtick* War, *Marcus Antonius Trevisanus*, in the last Century; and in our days *Franciscus Cornaro*, who as they say eight days after the Election died of Anger: See *Monsieur Amelot* in his Government of *Venice*, p. 124.

XLII.

XLII.

It has been a ſort of Maxime now for ſome time not to chuſe a married man to be Duke, for the Coronation of a Dutcheſs goes high, and hath coſt above a hundred thouſand Ducats. Pa. 142.

The Doctour idly ſays, that the *Venetians* do not uſe to chuſe married Men into the Dukedom, becauſe of the great expences at the Coronation of a Dutcheſs; for in the *interregnum*, after *Marinus Grimanus*, the Inquiſitours made a Decree, that thence forward the Dutcheſſes ſhould not be crowned nor ſo much as be called Princeſſes, but onely be accounted the chief Women in the Republick.

XLIII.

It is fit that onely one of a family ſhould marry, &c. By this means the younger Brothers, that have appointments for life, and that have no families that come from them, are not ſtirred up by any ambition, &c. Pa. 148.

He

He taxes the *Venetians*, and assigns it as a great cause of their Vices, that usually the eldest Brother onely marries. But 'tis well known that the Senate always opposed it, especially upon this account, lest particular persons should become too potent, and for this reason compelled once three brothers of the *Cornara's* to marry, under pain of banishment and confiscation of their goods. What he says of the younger brothers neglecting their honour and repute, because of their want of Children, is very ridiculous. For those that he called younger brothers, he should have called them the elder; seeing it's plain that the youngest of all commonly marries; these are Mr. *Amelot's* words, *page* 25. Nor does this way of partage or division hinder the greatness of their Families, seeing for the most part all the brothers live together, and but one of them marries, and that is commonly the youngest, for whom the other are contented to scrape and to spare, especially if he be a Man of complyance.

XLIV.

XLIV.

And an Italian *that knew the World* Pa. 150
well ſaid upon this matter a very notable thing to me, he ſaid, that they could have none of thoſe domeſtick entertainments of wit, converſation and friendſhip, that the French *or* Engliſh *have at home.*

What then do the *French* and *Engliſh* onely enjoy thoſe entertainments of wit and friendſhip, and do all other Nations live in a clowniſh ſolitude?

What, not to take notice of any other People, doth he think of that honourable and exquiſite accompliſh'd Nation the *Germans?* Although in ſome places they retain their ſevere way of living, and that too not without credit, yet in moſt of the Cities, eſpecially in thoſe where any Princes keep their Courts, their behaviour is ſo obliging and free, ſo well tempered with mirth and gravity, they are ſo kind and officious in ſerving even ſtrangers, that even there you may hear many

many complaining, who in vain admire the plainneſs of their old behaviour, and think that the ſincerity which all times was thought proper to them, was trodden under foot. But to return to our Authour, he ſpeaks not theſe words, we diſpute againſt, himſelf, but he heard them of an *Italian*, and for that very reaſon, the leſs credit is to be given to them. For, I hope, he will pardon me, if, ſince I have ſo oft took him tardy already, I ſuſpend my belief a little longer, till he bring better proof of what he ſays. We know that the *Italians* admire the *Germans* above all other Nations, and have them in ſuch eſteem that their Princes think it their greateſt honour to be thought to be deſcended from them, *Cl.* Rhetius, *in Inſtrum. Juris publici, lib.* I. *tit.* II. I my ſelf have heard an *Italian* Nobleman at *Amſterdam*, and one that had ſeen many Countreys, wiſh, that if any greater Liberty might be introduced into their converſation, it might be that of the *Germans*, who ſpeak fairly, yet without any deceit; that it would be

be an unspeakable advantage to their Countrey, where they are so much afraid one of another, that the surest way of discerning their Enemies was, by their profers of kindness.

XLV.

But this leads me to say a little to you of that part of this constitution which is so much censured by strangers, but is really both the greatest glory and the chief security of this Republick, which is the unlimited Power of the Inquisitours. Part 5

The Doctour says, that both the security and greatest glory of the *Venetian* State consists in the unlimited Power of the Inquisitours. Most indeed agree in the former, but they who look more narrowly into this Republick will deny the latter. And if we take notice of several customs of that Court as they are reckoned up by Monsr. *Amelot*, and which have now the force of Laws, we may easily perceive that this opinion is as foolish as it is new. And first they hold, That

no Crimes committed againſt the State muſt be pardoned, that even thoſe that appear to be ſuch muſt be puniſhed. That the puniſhment ought to precede the Tryal. That in affairs of this nature ſhadows muſt be embraced for the things themſelves, and poſſibility for reality. That it is not enough for a prudent man to prevent things, but he muſt alſo hinder a poſſibility of their being done. That they muſt prevent the danger they fear by endamaging them who were the cauſe of their fear, before they ſee the effects of their Crime, for there could be no greater Crime than to be ſuſpected by the Prince, and diſturb his quiet. That if in other affairs it be diſcretion to imagine the ill conſequences leſs than they will be; in matters of State and things that concern the publick welfare it is not onely prudent but neceſſary to imagine them greater. That they need not regard any injuſtice done to a private Man, if thereby any profit redound to the publick, becauſe as they

ſay, no Government can be ſo juſt, but that ſome body may be wronged by it. To which we may add another axiom of theirs no leſs pernicious, to wit: that it is a great prudence to remove him out of the way, whom by a juſt ſuſpicion they have alienated from them, for that the wrong done him will excite him to revenge; nay, that the fear of future injuries will make him provide for his own ſafety though by the deſtruction of the Government. Monſ. *Amelot*, after he hath reckoned up theſe Axioms of theirs, ſays farther, that the ſeverity of the Council of ten is ſo great, that there is ſcarce a noble family in the Republick but produces inſtances of it, and many of them written in Bloud. And if we do not ſee ſo many noble perſons now as formerly hanged up between *St. Mark*'s Pillars, we muſt not attribute it to their Clemency, but to a new way they have got of ſending them out of the World privately, to ſalve forſooth the repute of the Nobility; nay, ſometimes they drown

them by night in the Orſan Canale. And theſe ſecret puniſhments they inflict far oftner than they ſhould doe; for if any of the Nobles be miſt, of a ſudden, they know where he is gone. They obſerve this method to ſooth the Parents and Friends of the deceaſed, as if they did it onely to prevent the infamy which might redound to them by his puniſhment. Though, to ſpeak the Truth, they uſe this caution onely when the crime is not ſo clear; for when that is manifeſt, omitting theſe formalities, the perſon guilty runs through all the forms of Juſtice, and is ſolemnly led to the Gallows. There is no man's life ſo exactly conformable with the Rule of Juſtice, but they will animadvert upon it, and that frequently, onely for omiſſions. Theſe and far greater ſeverities you may read of in the forementioned Book of the Government of *Venice*, page 156, 157, and 158. which I ſhall not here take notice of, becauſe, from what is already ſaid, the abſurdity of the Doctour is manifeſt, and I have no mind

to

to aſperſe ſo famous a Republick. Now I do not believe that the Doctour intends to make uſe of this argument to ſupport his opinion, *viz.* That that which conduces to the ſafety of a State, is its greateſt glory, ſeing in publick affairs the contrary daily appears. For although ſuch things that ſhould be thought to conduce to the publick welfare, and were not of themſelves lawfull, would not render the State infamous, yet it doth not follow that they would encreaſe its glory. From this Spring ariſes that Axiom of *Machiavel*, who adviſes his Prince, *nè aliquando bonus ſit*, not to be good at ſometimes, for which he is ſo ſeverely laſh'd by *Anton. Poſſevin. in Judicio ſuo de quatuor Scriptoribus*, writ at the Command of Pope *Innocent* IX. by *Innocent. Gentillettus* in *Antimachiav.* by *Thomas Bozius*, in his Book *de Imperio Virtutis*, by *Petrus Riba de Neira in Principe Chriſt.* by *Hieronymus Oſorius de Nobilitat. Chriſtian.* by *Stephanus Junius Brutus*, (whom ſome think to be *Hottoman*,

others *Mornæus*) *in lib. de Jure Subd. adverſ. Tyrannos*; and by ſeveral other Patchers up of theſe deviliſh Principles, as they call them, of *Machiavel*, ſome of which never read him, the reſt never underſtood him aright. *Machiavel* indeed would not have his Prince to be good, but neither would he have him bad; neither would he have him always ſo, but onely when the ſtate of affairs neceſſarily require it, he ſhould neither be good nor bad, but neuter. For ſo private Men when they are at the Bar, in Council, walking, or at any other exerciſe, forbear ſaying their Prayers or ſinging Pſalms, becauſe the nature of the time and place are not proper for theſe Exerciſes; yet although they be not at that time accounted pious, yet neither are they profane, but onely neuter. And a Prince likewiſe is looked upon as neuter, or not good, by thoſe who looking no farther than his outward circumſtances, cannot penetrate into the inner ſtate of his affairs, whereas he ſtill retains his goodneſs, which yet inferi-

inferiour People are not ableto d iſcern. *Beeman* in his *Polit. Paral. cap.* 1, & 6. prolixly treats on this queſtion, where he excellently handles the nature of diſpenſation.

XLVI.

Inquiſitours. Pa. 15

The Doctour very often confounds the Inquiſitours with the Council of ten, whereas of the three Inquiſitours, onely two are choſen out of that Council, the other out of the Councellours of the College. Beſides, in one place he ſays, the power of the Inquiſitours is limited, as *page* 145. *by a Clauſe when they received the Inquiſition which ſeemed of no great conſequence, they have made it to become a Court abſolutely ſubject to them; for, it being provided that the Inquiſitours ſhould doe nothing but in the preſence of ſuch as ſhould be deputed by the Senate to be the Witneſſes of their proceedings, thoſe Deputies either will not come, but when they*

think fit, or will not ſtay longer than they are pleaſed with their proceedings; ſo that either their abſence or their withdrawing diſſolves the Court. In another, that it is unlimited, as *page* 159. *But this leads me to ſay a little to you of that part of this Conſtitution which is ſo much cenſured by ſtrangers; but is really both the greateſt glory and the chief ſecurity of this Republick; which is the unlimited power of the Inquiſitours*; and all this without any diſtinction of Names, whereas by the latter he means the Inquiſitours of the State, by the former, the Eccleſiaſtical Inquiſitours.

XLVII.

a. 159. *The Inquiſitours may ſearch the Duke's Papers, make his Proceſs, and in concluſion put him to death, without being bound to give an account of their Proceedings, except to the Council of Ten.*

He ſays, the Inquiſitours may put the Duke to death, and that they are not

not obliged to give an account of their proceedings to any but the Council of Ten. But they are not obliged to give any account, no not to them, to whom they onely have recourſe when they cannot agree. *Vide Amelot.* in his Government of *Venice.*

XLVIII.

It is not to be denyed, that upon ſome occaſions they may have been a little too ſudden, particularly in the known ſtory of Foſcarini. Pa. 160.

Of this *Foſcarini* Mr. *Amelot* writes thus; *Anthony Foſcarini*, a Senatour was diſpatched by the Inquiſitours in the ſpace of ſix hours, ſo that the people ſooner heard of his death than his impriſonment. A moſt remarkable Example of Envy in this State, in which a great name is look'd upon as a bad one, and often proves the cauſe of great danger. For this *Foſcarini* was afterwards acquitted, and the Accuſation of Treaſon brought againſt him, found falſe after his death. And yet

yet the Doctour is so far from thinking the death of this so innocent, nay deserving, a man, so unjust as utterly to condemn it, that he onely says it was a little too hasty. Which ridiculous way of talking is too familiar with our Authour. So *page* 71. where he is speaking of the *Helvetian* Women that slew all the Souldiers in one night, and taking particular notice of one that kill'd four of them with her own hands; he adds, *Though it must be confessed it was a little too rough for the sex.* So again, *page* 53. when he is for disputing on that Text of Scripture, *There are three*, &c. In the beginning he doubts, and says, *for it might seem a little too learned:* and so in many other places. So that he must needs confess that he uses this a little too much, a little too much.

XLIX.

Pa. 162. *Nor could I give credit to that which a Person of great eminence there assured me, that there was a Prisoner general, that*

that had a Salary, and was impoſed by the Inquiſitours to diſpatch thoſe, againſt whom a publick Proceeding would make too great a noiſe.

But the truth of this matter is abundantly manifeſt from the preceding teſtimonies of Mr. *Amelot.* But the Doctour will not acknowledge it, as being one that will not give any credit to them, who know it by experience. And indeed the Doctours faith is very fooliſh and ſimple, that thinks nothing true that he cannot believe, that is, to ſpeak the moſt favourably of him, what he thinks unjuſt. For although this might be pardoned in a Divine, yet in a Politician, and the Doctour thinks himſelf here to be no mean one, it is very ridiculous. For although we could not believe that any injuſtice can be done in this excellent Republick, yet a great many things ſeem at leaſt to be unjuſt, though perhaps, if we look more nearly into the affairs of the State, we may find them to be juſt enough. Hence it is that prudent Men, and they

they that are not unskilled in State affairs, give their Judgment of the Justice of a Cause, by the Proceedings of the Judges in it, not of the Justice of the Judges by the appearance of the Cause. But I could easily pardon this seeming goodness of the Doctour; if he had not said, that this that he cannot believe, he heard of a Person of great eminence, and one that proved his words by many and great testimonies, (I could almost guess he means the Embassadour of *France* at *Venice*.)

For whom can he blame now for calling his credit every where into question, and believing, that he who is of a meaner quality may be subject to malice or stupidity, from which he will not allow so eminent a Person to be free?

L.

Pa.164. *And the Poverty of the Place appears signally in the Churches, which are mean, and poorly adorned, for the superstition of* Italy *is so ravenous, and makes such a progress in this age, that*

one may justly take the measures of the wealth of any place from the Churches.

Our Authour says, that we may judge of the Riches of the *Italians* by their Churches, by reason of their great Superstition. A fine and easie method indeed to discover the riches and strength of a Kingdom, and to which all Travellers should be strictly tied, if it did not often deceive, and the Doctour himself had not just before unluckily destroyed it. For (he says) the Inhabitants of *Milan* are reduced to such Poverty as can scarce be believed, yet he highly admires the richness and magnificence of their Churches; and he says, that all over *Milan* there may be observed a like Poverty in the Inhabitants and Wealth in their Churches. His words are these, *page* 115. *The people here are reduced to a poverty that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the Wealth that is in their Churches, and this is going on so constantly in* Milan, *that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast a Treasure can be found, but Purgatory*

gatory is a fond not easily exhausted.

LI.

Pa.174. *But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent took up more of my time than all the other Curiosities of* Florence.

The Doctour here highly commends the Famous Library at *Florence*, he admires many famous MSS therein which Pope *Clement* the Eighth gave to his Countrey; nay, he admires several printed Books therein which are as scarce and valuable as MSS. Who is there that reads these words, that does not easily perceive how wrongfully he has aspersed the *Italians* in his preceding Letter? For therein he gives this Judgment of all the Libraries in *Italy*: *The Libraries* (says he, *page* 9.) *not onely here, but all* Italy *over are scandalous things; the Room is often fine and richly adorned, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worst chosen.* How unworthy and unfitting an honest and prudent man are these words?

words? But this Calumny of his he himſelf takes off; not here onely, but in ſeveral other Places. For in the City of *Milan* it ſelf he praiſes the *Ambroſian* Library which was founded by Cardinal *Frederick Borromee*, for a curious *Muſæum* and a good Collection of Books, *page* 111. At *Naples* he extolls the Library of *Joſeph Valletta* in which, he ſays, there is a vaſt Collection of very choice Books, *page* 196, and 197. Not to ſpeak any thing of the *Vatican* Library at *Rome* which he ſtrangely admires; when he ſays, that the Houſe indeed is very ſtately, but that which is contained therein far more and ſtrangely affects the Eyes of the Beholders, *page* 226.

In the ſame manner he overturns what he ſaid before, that in *Italy* there are no famous and extraordinarily learned Men; for he himſelf in his following Letters reckons up a great many whom he highly commends. He commends, *page* 125. *Patinus*, who dwelt at *Vinzenza* for a famous Antiquary. And in another Place he calls

Ma-

Malaphigi, a very famous Man, and the glory of *Bononia*, page 170. In the same Place he admires a work of the famous Astronomer *Cassini*. He calls *Maliabecchi*, the great Duke of *Florence*'s Library-keeper, a noted Man. In the very place he takes notice of a very eminent Man who far exceeded that proportion of Learning which may be expected to be found in *Italy*. At *Naples* he commends one *Franciscus Andria* for a famous Lawyer, and another Nephew of the great *Alciat* he calls a curious and learned Man. In the same place he makes mention of one *Rinaldus*, a very famous Preacher and well accomplished Man. At *Rome*, he says, there are so many famous and learned Men, that he had not time enough to reckon them; yet he takes notice of some that were very famous, as *Bellorius* for his skill in the *Greek* Tongue, in the *Ægyptian* Antiquities, and other Learning; *Fabrettus* for his skill in the old *Roman* Architecture; *Faber*, a *Jesuite*, for Philosophy, Mathematicks and Ecclesiastical History; and

and the Abbat *Nazari* for his universal knowledge.

Now *Rome* was scarce in *Augustus* his time furnished with so many famous men at once, when it produced the most famous and greatest Wits.

LII.

I could not build on what an ignorant Library-keeper had told me. Pa. 17

He brands the Library-keeper of the *Florence* Library with the Title of Ignorant, though he seems a Man of no contemptible learning, in that he gave him account of the famous Epistle of St. *Chrysostome* to *Cæsarius* in a *Greek* MS. This shews a base and disingenuous temper in the Doctour: for to wave the injustice of so hard a Character; the ingratitude is not to be excused, especially to a Person whom he confesses himself was very obliging to him.

LIII.

176. *But as one goes over* Tuscany *it appears so depopulated, that one cannot but wonder to find a Countrey, that hath been a scene of so much action and so many Wars, now so forsaken and so poor, and that in many places the soil is quite neglected for want of hands to cultivate it.*

Here he argues against the common sense of mankind, when he wonders to find a Countrey that hath been a scene of so much action and so many Wars now so forsaken and so poor, for Wars are the never-failing causes of Poverty and Desolation. At this rate one might wonder to find a Man sick and quite spent by his former Luxury, not able to get down one drop of drink, who formerly could have emptied whole Gallons. Who wonders that *Podolia* and the *Ukrain*, the most fertile Province of *Europe*, lye barren and without Inhabitants, who considers how often their fields have run with

with bloud, and all the natives forced to fly, who preferred their lives and ſafeties before their Countrey.

The Argument of the fourth Epiſtle from Rome, December, *the* 8th. 1685.

IN this he takes notice again of the great Poverty of *Tuſcany* and the Pope's Territories, which were once flouriſhing Provinces, but now, being under the Pope, lye almoſt deſolate, as well for the Cauſes aforementioned, as for the ſhort time of the Pope's Government, the diſadvantage of which he here reckons: they may be better read in the Book than here. He highly commends the Viceroy of *Naples*, the Marqueſs of *Carpio*, the Son of that famous Miniſter of State *Lewis de Haro*. He ſays that he by his induſtry and juſtice doth well provide for theſe afflicted Provinces. Among

the reſt he takes notice of this notable device of his to buy in all the debaſed money at the ſame price that it went at. He ſays that the Poverty of the Plebeians in the Kingdom of *Naples* is almoſt incredible, inſomuch that the Husbandmen, though they live in a very fruitfull Countrey, are ſo cruelly exhauſted, that ſeveral of them dye for hunger; and that all the advantage of their Traffick is devolved upon foreign Nations. That in ſeveral parts of the Countrey half of the Poſſeſſions and Revenues are beſtowed upon the Eccleſiaſticks, who are no leſs cruel to them than their other Lords. But that in the Churches and the Hoſpitals at *Naples*, there is ſuch a vaſt number of Silver veſſels, that they may be valued at eight Millions. He mentions a privilege that the Monaſteries have of buying the Houſes adjoining on all ſides of them, by which means they may buy almoſt in every Street: Which they may the more eaſily doe, becauſe they muſt pay no more to the Owners of them, than they

they themſelves paid. He ſays, that the ſtudy of the *Greek* Tongue begins to flouriſh again in *Naples*, and commends the induſtry of *Joſeph Valletta* in promoting Learning, and likewiſe his famous Library. But, he ſays, that thoſe learned Men who have conſtituted a kind of Society among themſelves, are reputed by the Clergy (who are for the moſt part unlearned) Atheiſts. He ſays, that the number of the *Molliniſts* in this City are ſaid to be 2000. He tells his opinion, and how vehemently he is reſiſted by the *Jeſuits*; yet, he ſays, there are ſome who think that the Pope is not diſpleaſed with him, although he be kept in Priſon. After that he deſcribes the *Neapolitan* Catacombs which are without the City, and wonders that they are not mentioned by any Writer. Hereupon he takes occaſion to ſpeak of the *Roman* Catacombs, and explains certain *Greek* Letters which he obſerved in them. I. C. X. O. under which was written νίκα, he reads them thus, Ἰησοῦς σωτὴρ Χριστὸς νίκα, *Jeſus our Saviour*,

viour who is Christ and God overcometh. Thence he takes occasion to dispute about these Catacombs, out of which the Pope takes the bodies of the Saints which they give at *Rome*, where he gives his reasons why these should be rather Heathen Sepulchres, seeing the custome of burning dead bodies was almost out of use at *Rome*, before the Emperours were Christian, which he proves by the testimony of ancient and modern Writers. His observations of the shore of *Campania*, which was once very flourishing and is now almost desart, of *Rome* it self, of St. *Peter's* Church, of the Noblemens Palaces, and of several other Structures, are not contemptible, but we must pass them over. He commends the *Vatican* Library, and takes notice of the controversie betwixt two famous Men *Schelstrate* and *Maimburg*, concerning the Acts of the Council of *Constance*, and of a Discourse which our Authour had about this matter with the famous Keeper of that Library. Among the Learned Men of *Rome* he com-

commends *Bellorius*, the Jeſuit *Faber*, the Abbat *Nazari*, as alſo Cardinal *d'Eſtre*, whoſe Civility and Learning he greatly commends, as having been a Friend and Scholar of *John Launoy*, for which reaſon, he ſays, he is reputed a famous Divine in the College of the Cardinals. He gives his judgment of the cuſtoms of the preſent Pope, and his teſtimony of his frugality and honeſty. He ſpeaks again of the extreme want of the *Romans*, which he aſſigns as the cauſe of the paucity of their Inhabitants; from the contrary cauſe of which, he ſays, proceeds the number of the *Helvetians*, which he farther confirms by the example of the Inhabitants of *Geneva*. Wherefore, he thinks, the fruitfulneſs of marriages is greatly promoted by plenty, and as much hindred by want. He ſpeaks of the converſation and courtious behaviour of the *Romans*, and how hard it is to find any true friendſhip. He highly commends the Queen of *Swedeland*, *Chriſtina*. He gratefully acknowledges the kind entertainment he received of the

Jesuits even of his own Nation, who yet were not ignorant how freely he had writ against their Religion. He speaks of two Nuns, who two years before changed their Sex, which relation was confirmed by the testimony of Cardinal *Howard*, whom he there commends. Upon this occasion he tells a Story of a Girle of *Geneva*, who being nursed by a deaf Woman had lost her Hearing, yet, by observing how others moved their Lips, had learned a kind of discourse.

REFLEXIONS.

LIV.

Pa.180. *But I intend to leave this place within a day or two, and go to* Civita-vecchia.

He says here, that within a day or two he intends to leave *Rome* (from whence he dated this Letter) and go to *Civita-vecchia*; and yet in the very next *page* of this same Letter he discourses at large of *Civita-vecchia* and its Territories as if he had already been

been here; but I have before taken notice of this his way of Travelling.

LV.

It is the greateſt ſoleciſm in Government, for the Prince to be elective and yet abſolute. Pa. 182

Here the Doctour ſhews himſelf again a very unskilfull Politician. The wiſeſt Maſters in that School would have told him, that Elective Monarchy is not to be compared with Hereditary, for this very reaſon, that it is not abſolute. An Elective Prince is often times retarded by the ſlow debates and different Counſels of the Nobility, ſo that he loſes the opportunity of Action, and cannot always uſe his fortune, when it fairly invites him. If this clog were removed, who can deny but that that Common-wealth is in fairer circumſtances, that is not ſubject to the Childhood or imperfection of its Prince, but ows its government to mature choice and deliberation, and depends not ſolicitouſly upon the product

product of chance or fortune? And here it is vainly objected, that such Princes, invested with supreme Power, are apt to exhaust the wealth of their Subjects to enrich their Children and Posterity, that they may not be unable to maintain the state and quality befitting the Children of a King. But a good Prince will never doe this, and a bad one dare not, lest after his death his Subjects revenge it on his Family, and strip them of all their fortunes aswell justly as unjustly gotten. On the contrary, an Hereditary Monarch that looks upon his Kingdom as his Patrimony, is ambitious to enlarge it, and seeing he cannot doe this without War, and War cannot be carried on without vast Expences, this exhausts and weakens a Nation, and is far more pernicious to the good and prosperity of the Subjects, than the charge they may be at to maintain the Pomp and Retinue of a few of the Royal Family. But we shall not dwell upon generals any longer, but consider this sort of Government in the Popedom, at which

which our Authour ſeems to be moſt incenſed. It is known to all that have made any inſight into the Papal conſtitution, that ſince the beginning of the World, there was never Government more wiſely or cunningly contriv'd. And ſeeing to arrive at the triple Crown requires more than ordinary management, and the ends of that ſpiritual Empire far differ from all temporal ones, the grounds of its domination conſiſting in a weak and angry title, let us enquire upon what Foundations that Power which has continued ſo many years does chiefly rely, and we ſhall preſently find, that they are nothing elſe but that which our wiſe Authour calls a Soleciſm, to wit, its being elective and abſolute. And, for the firſt, Election here is highly neceſſary, conſidering the miſchief and inconveniences that would neceſſarily follow if hereditary Government took place. For (that I may uſe the words of *Puffendorf* in his Introduction to Hiſtory, *c.* 14.) where the Crown devolves from the Father to the Son, it

it often times lights upon an Infant or *Minor*. Now how could the Popedom support its Reputation and Authority if he who is God's Vice-gerent on Earth was but yet in his Swaddling-cloaths, or under the discretion of Tutours and Guardians? nor could so sacred and weighty an Office as that pretends to be, sit well on a young man's Shoulders who can scarcely be supposed to maintain the gravity of it; or if one or two might doe it, yet there would be no security for all. In a word, this hereditary Right would change the Papal Power into a pure secular dominion, which would not be able to bear the weight of so great a Title; besides, the very Ministers of that State would be always watchfull to the ruine of the present Pope, that they might have their Turns in the Government, who are now very obedient and obsequious to his commands, in hope of obtaining by Election the same Dignity. Again, if the Family should chance to be extinct, the heat and contention of the Pretenders in ad-

advancing themſelves to the vacant Chair, might pull down and ruin the whole Structure. But, ſecondly, that this Power ought to be abſolute plainly appears, in that otherwiſe it is impoſſible it ſhould laſt; for if the form of *Ariſtocracy* or *Democracy* were admitted, how ſhould ſo many different and various tempers and humours (as are found in the Court of *Rome*) be tyed up to ſuch ſtrict and peremptory Laws, but that at one time or other, diſcords, diviſions and animoſities, would diſſolve the whole Fabrick of that Building? Theſe and many other reaſons you may find in *Puffendorf*, in his Introduction to Hiſtory, *cap.* 12. *ſect.* 31.

LVI.

And an unſatiable deſire of heaping up wealth, which is the Character of him that now reigns. Pa. 184.

In the Prophecy of *Malachia* the preſent Pope *Innocent* the Ninth is called the inſatiable Beaſt; many have taken

taken great pains to explain the words. Some refer them to the *Leopard* which is the Arms of the Houſe of *Odeſchalchi*, and will needs have it to be that Beaſt. Others produce that Text of Scripture; *The zeal of thy Houſe hath eaten me up*. They that would ſeem more witty than the reſt, obſerve, that Cardinal *Cibo* is the Pope's great Favourite, and that he does nothing without him, and therefore their jeſt is, that the Pope muſt needs be an unſatiable creature, becauſe he does nothing without *Cibo*, i. e. *Meat*. But our Authour hits the Nail on the Head ten times better. For he makes him the inſatiable Beaſt, as never ſatisfied with Gold or Silver. But to paſs by what he himſelf writes againſt this very cenſure, to wit, that the preſent Pope does not follow his Predeceſſours in heaping up honours and riches for his Family; it is enough to confute this Character he has given by onely conſidering what prodigious ſumms of money he has freely ſent to the Emperour, the *Pole*, and the *Venetians*, for the ſupport of the preſent War, which has

has gained him the good opinion of most Protestants except the Doctour.

LVII.

So the many vacant Caps occasion many empty Palaces. Pa. 185

Those Vacancies have been long since supplied as followeth. Prince *Rinaldo d'Estre*, Prince *Francisco Maria* of *Tuscany*, Monsignor *Ranucci* Nuncio in *France*, Monsignor *Palavicini* Nuncio in *Poland*, Monsignor *Durazzo* Nuncio in *Spain*: the Archbishop of *Salzburgh*, the Bishop of *Strasburgh*, the Bishop of *Grenoble*, the Bishop of *Salamanca*, the Bishop of *Como*, the Bishop of *Gieti*, the Bishop of *Gurk*, the Bishop of *Warmia*, the Inquisitour General of *Portugal*, the Arch-bishop of *Corfu*, Count *Colonitz* Bishop of *Raab*, Monsignor *Corsi*, Monsignor *Negroni*, Monsignor *Cavaglieri*, Monsignor *Astally*, Monsignor *Mattei* Auditor of the *Rota* and *Major domo* to the Pope, Monsignor *Dehnhof*, *Commendatore* of *Sancto Spirito*, Father *Aghirri* a *Benedictine*, Monsignor *de Angelis* Vicegerent, Mon-

Monſignor *Sluſio* Secretary of the Briefs, Father *Coloredo della chieſa Nuova*, Don *Fortunato Caraffa*.

LVIII.

Pa.199. *Upon this* (Molino's) *impriſonment*, Paſquin *ſaid a pleaſant thing*.

He ſays that theſe have been the words:

Si Parliamo in Galere;
Si Scrivemmi, impiccati,
Si ſtamo in quiete, all'ſant officio,
Etche biſogna fare.

In the Text we reade *fore*, for *fare*, but this without doubt is the fault of the Printer; for we ſhall readily allow the Doctour to be Maſter of the *Italian* Language, as he is pleaſed to inform us; nay, to the very Purity of the *Tuſcane* Dialect. But I cannot paſs over in ſilence, that this very *Paſquil* which the Doctour ſo ingenuouſly brings in as new and pat to his purpoſe; I have unluckily found in a Book printed above a 100 years ago. The Title of the Book is this, *Paſquillorum* Tomi II. *Eleutheropoli*, M. D. XLIIII.

and

and it is in the Univerſity Library at *Cambridge.*

LIX.

The Freſhneß of the colours ſhews theſe could not have been done while this place was imployed for burying. Pa. 20

In his diſcourſing about the Catacombs at *Naples,* he endeavours to deſtroy the received opinion of them, by ſome Pictures that are found within them. He ſays, that the livelineſs and freſhneſs of the Colours in thoſe Pictures argues that they could not be drawn ſo long ago, as when theſe places were ſet a-part for burying places by the *Romans.* But I would fain know why? For if they were painted, as he believes, by the *Normans,* when they drove the *Saracens* out of *Italy,* which is above 600 years ago, I ſee not why they may not have laſted much longer; for ſeeing the colours in ſo many ages could not be defaced, I know not what time can be ſufficient to doe it, eſpecially if we

consider the thickneſs and moiſtneſs of the air in thoſe places, which is ſo great, that he himſelf profeſſes he was not able to continue long in them. Nay, we may conclude from the freſhneſs of the Colours, that they could not be painted in thoſe times, which our Authour aſſigns for them, for that Age was ignorant of the true Art of Painting and the excellent skill in preparing and mixing of Colours for beauty and laſtingneſs, is among thoſe inventions that were then loſt.

To paſs by that Inſcription of the Croſs, I. C. X. O. which being *Greek*, as he ſays, and artificial, yet he is ſo abſurd as to aſcribe it to the *Normans*, a rude People and altogether ignorant of Letters.

But let us ſee whether his own explication of it be not wholly ridiculous, for of theſe four Letters I.C.X.O. he abſolutely changes two of them C. into S. and O. into the *Greek* Θ. Now although we allow in ſome ancient Coins C. ſometimes put for S. yet this is onely in initial Letters, not in ſuch as are

ſet

ſet down to determine Initials, for what abſurdity is it to add one Letter to the Primary for the better underſtanding and quite change it. Yet this is our goodly Authour's gueſs, for he makes J. and C. *Jeſus*, expounding the firſt Letter I. by an S. of his own making, and having put in a *Greek* Θ for an O, he reads the whole Inſcription,

Ιησῦς Χριςὸς Θεός.

O wonderfull Critick and Searcher into Antiquities! But we'll ſuppoſe the thick Air of the Catacombs might make the Doctour a little dull.

Now that I may not onely ſeem to carp at his Interpretation, and produce nothing of my own; I will plainly ſet down, how I gueſs they are to be read, *viz.*

J. C. XO.

Jeſu Chriſto Crucifixo.

The two firſt Letters are plain enough, and to write the word *Crux* by the Letter *X* is very ancient, and ſtill in uſe, and the laſt *O.* is the termination. And let none object, that the word *νίκη* bears no coherence in the

Inscription thus interpreted, the former part being *Latin*, the latter *Greek*; for first, the *Latin* is on the top of the Cross, the *Greek* on the bottom. Secondly, had it been put thus, *Vincit*, it might have signified any thing that any man's fancy might have put on it, but *νικᾷ* determines its own signification, which was *Constantine*'s Motto.

LX.

208. *If* Cornelius *in that Letter speaks of the number of the Christians in excessive terms, and if* Tertullian *in his Apologetick hath also set out the numbers of the Christians of his time in a very high strain, that is onely to be ascribed to a pompous Eloquence.*

Is not this a strange piece of confidence and peculiar to Dr. *Burnet* alone, to pass his Censures so freely on two such great lights of the Church here mentioned, and blast the sincerity of their Writing with the reproach of high Strains and pompous Eloquence, let the primitive Fathers take heed how they

they fall into the hands of this universal Censurer. In the heat of his Travels he spares no body.

LXI.

There is nothing more wonderfull in Pa. 2
Story, than to see so vast a State, that had so great a sense of Liberty, subdued by so brutal and so voluptuous a man as Anthony, *and so raw a youth as* Augustus.

I wonder who in the name of confidence he would have to subdue Nations, if *Augustus* and *Anthony* will not please him. What fitter Persons than they if stoutness and the height of heroick courage could doe it? Indeed to preserve Empire other vertues are required, and were not wanting in them, for they were not both at once negligent, but took their Turns in the management of affairs. Whilst *Augustus* was young, *Anthony* was sober and circumspect and ordered the Government with great discretion. But when *Augustus* was grown up, and well versed

in buſineſs, the other returned to his pleaſures, *Auguſtus* conniving at it, who was now grown weary of a Partner, yet was not *Anthony* at laſt ſo brutal and voluptuous a Man, but that it coſt *Auguſtus* hard trouble to get rid of him.

LXII.

227. *For if Pope* Martin, *that approved this Decree, was infallible, then this Decree is good ſtill; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was infallible.*

This puts me in mind of the famous *Greek* Story of the Diſpute between the Maſter and Scholar, which the Doctour ſeems to have forgotten, but it was juſt after the ſame rate of arguing. The Scholar agreed with his Maſter to pay him the price of his Teaching, at the firſt cauſe he ſhould carry at the Bar. The Maſter, after much pains taken, thinking his Scholar ſufficiently inſtructed, demands his money, the Scholar denys the payment, and to Law they goe. The young

Man

Man affirms, he is bound to pay nothing which ſide ſoever the cauſe goes; for, if he carry, he is to pay nothing by the Sentence of the Judge; and if he loſe it, the bargain acquits him; for he was to pay onely when he overcame. Nay, ſays the Maſter, you loſe it which way ſoever it goes; for, if I caſt you, I recover by the Judge's ſentence; but if you caſt me, you muſt pay me according to our bargain. The Judge, who had liſtned attentively, ſaid nothing but this; *Mali Corvi, malum ovum:* Ill Seeds bring ill weeds. Thus when our Authour argues with Mr. *Maimbourg* after this manner; *Either Pope* Martin *(who in the Council of* Conſtance *confirm'd this Decree, that Popes were ſubject to Councils) either he was infallible, or not: If infallible, then is this Decree beyond exception, becauſe confirmed by him; if he was not infallible, then were none of his Predeceſſours ſo.* Who ſees not but the force of this Argument may be retorted on him by the famous *Schelſtrate*, thus; *Either the Pope is infallible, or*

not. If he be not; then is there no strength added to this Decree, if he be, then also were all his Predecessours.

LXIII.

1233. *Pope* Sixtus *who gave order to his Steward.*

Majordomo.

LXIV.

ibid. *But his Government is severe, and his Subjects are ruined.*

I cannot see how he of all men can tax his Government as severe, and how his Subjects are ruined by him, who just before gives us this fair account of his administration, *page* 232. *There is at present a regularity in* Rome *that deserveth great commendation; for publick vices are not to be seen there.* Not to mention the great Character he gives of his personal vertues, as wonderfull Sobriety and Strictness of Life. The great Poverty and general want of his Subjects may

may be better aſcribed to the covetouſneſs and ambition of his Predeceſſours.

LXV.

For as Men and Women that are well cloathed and well fed, that are not exhauſted with perpetual labour, and with the tearing anxities that want brings with it, muſt be much more lively than thoſe that are preſſed with want, ſo it is very likely that the one muſt be much more diſpoſed to propagate than the other. Pa. 23

This is againſt the Judgment of the beſt and ableſt Phyſicians, who all agree that thoſe are the moſt prolifick part of mankind that are moſt inured to hard labours, and are forced by Poverty to temperance and ſobriety: whilſt ſuch as abound in all things, leading a ſoft and eaſie life, corrupt the organs of generation, and are diſabled to get many Children. An example of the firſt ſort are the *Tartars*, to paſs by the *Iſraelites*, who, wearied out under *Pharaoh* in an unmercifull bondage

dage, under the severest wants and hardest taskmasters, yet prodigiously encreased to the amazement of the *Ægyptians* who liv'd at ease and beheld it. Of as little moment is it what he speaks of the wonderfull fruitfulness of the *Switzers*, and comparisons with the *Italians*, as if the climate of each Countrey were not a sufficient solution of the inequality of the numbers therein produced. The *Italian* lives under a warm Sun; the *Swisse* in a cold and frozen Countrey. Now it is a Maxim grounded on experience, that the coldest Regions are the best Breeders.

LXVI.

Pa.236. *I will not use her own word to my self, which was, that she now grew to be one of the antiquities of* Rome.

After his praises of the Queen of *Swedeland* he cannot let her pass without a fling at her; for what means this piece of Rhetorick, that he will not use her own words (which were spoke it

it seems to himself) and yet immediately he uses them. This is a very odd piece of respect to the Queen for her conversation and civility to him. But I vilely suspect there is something more in the wind, for this period is not right, or like a man that is quiet in his Passions.

LXVII.

Her (*the Dutchess of* Bracciano) *Court is the pleasanteſt assembly of strangers that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the* Italians *at* Rome. Pa. 238

You see here the Dutchess of *Bracciano* has quite robb'd the Queen of all the Praises and Encomiums that were so largely bestowed on her. For of the Queen he had but just said before; *And that Princess* (the Queen of *Swedeland*) *hath still in her drawing Room the best Court of Strangers.* With what Justice the Doctour divides himself between these great Ladys I know not, but will view him a little in the next Paragraph.

LXVIII.

LXVIII.

Pa.237. *The Women here begin to be a little more converſable.*

The Doctour, it ſeems, in his Travels makes a little bold with the gravity of his Coat and Profeſſion, and when Ladys are in company, he cannot but make ſome applications that way. Thus he diſcourſes of the *Venetian* Women, the *Romans*, the *Germans*, and particularly the *Helvetians*, who it ſeems, as he tells us, are ſo complaiſant as to take you by the hand, when they are ſaluted. I ſee the Doctour is a Wag. Of the ſame nature are his accounts of the Nunns, particularly her of *Straſbourg*, who lies down while a Monk has his hand under her Coat. Indeed out of modeſty he tells us, he did not ſee it himſelf, but he is ſo ſolicitous of the credit of the Authour who related it to him, and takes ſuch pains to ſhew that he was a perſon beyond all exceptions, and very exact in his obſervations of this nature, that a Man cannot

cannot chuſe but ſmile at his earneſtneſs and punctuality in this Affair; his words are theſe; *I confeſs I did not look for theſe things, for I had not heard of them; but my noble friend Mr.* Ablancourt *viewed them with great exactneſs, while he was the* French *King's Reſident at* Strasbourg, *in the company of one of the Magiſtrates, that waited on him, and it is upon his credit, to which all that know his eminent ſincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this particular.*

LXIX.

Who having ventured to go thither. Pa. 224.

Certainly a bold adventure this, for Doctour *Burnet* to appear in *Rome.* Who would not think by theſe words that a new *Huſs* was going to *Conſtance* or a *Luther* to *Worms?* The Ladys may perchance be mighty ſolicitous for him, but otherwiſe he may walk very ſecurely. Eſpecially if he gives the *Italians* ſo good words as he does in the following Paragraph.

LXX.

LXX.

Pa.246. *And indeed the riches that one meets with in all places within doors in* Italy.

Did ever Man that put Pen to Paper to write, ever contradict himself so often and so palpably as our Authour here does? A little before he so exposed the nakedness and poverty of the *Italian* Cities, that he had the face to affirm that the meanest and beggarliest Cities of his own Countrey, *Scotland*, made a better appearance. Thus of the City of *Viterbo* he writes, *page* 181. *And that wide Town which is of so great compass, hath yet so few Inhabitants, and those look so poor and miserable, that the meanest people in the ordinary Towns in* Scotland, *and in its worst places make a better appearance.* Page 164. he says thus of *Ferrara: We were much more amazed when we pass'd through that vast Town which by its extent shews what it was about an Age ago, and is now so much deserted, that there are whole sides of Streets without*

without Inhabitants, and the poverty of the place appears signally in the Churches. To pass by what he says of the Poverty of *Verona* and several other Towns in *Italy.*

The Argument of the fifth Letter dated at Nimegen, May *the* 20th 1686.

After he hath spoken somewhat by way of Preface of *Marseilles*, a famous Mart-Town in *France*, and of other remarkable things in the Province of *Narbon*, he briefly takes notice of the great persecution that the Protestants have suffered in *France*, which was so much the greater (as he says with great grief) because whatever was done must be attributed to the Principles of the *Romish* Church and the endeavours of all the *French* Clergy, and to the innumerable Panegyricks in which it was celebrated by all sorts of Writers. Nevertheless he doth not deny, that there were of that Party

ty ſome moderate Men, who did not approve of theſe Proceedings, but that they were few, and ſuch as durſt not contradict them. That at *Rome* indeed there was no ſign ſhewn of publick approbation and joy, but that that was cauſed rather by the reſiſtance of the *Spaniſh* Faction, than of the Pope, for (he ſays) that he approved of all their Proceedings, neither were there any more than two Cardinals of the contrary opinion, as Cardinal *d'Eſtree* told him. That the things already done, ought not to be imputed ſo much to the King of *France* himſelf, as to his Religion. That we ought rather to be ſorry that he was prejudiced againſt them by it, and ſo was drawn on to act conformably to its Principles. He ſays, that when he return'd from *France* to *Geneva*, finding a competent number of *Engliſh* Men there, with the Magiſtrates leave, he preached and perform'd the Divine Service according to the *Engliſh* Church in a certain houſe. That it pleaſed the Inhabitants of that City mightily, who were ſor-

ry

ry that there should be so great difference between the *English* and *Helvetian* Churches about things of so small moment, which pertained onely to the outward form of Government and Ceremonies. He particularly commends two of their Ministers Mr. *Turretin* and Mr. *Tronchin.* He adjoins some other Observations that he made of *Switzerland* in his return from *Italy.* His opinion of some of *Holben's* draughts which he saw at *Basel*, and of their Library MSS, and Medals, is not contemptible. It is of more weight what he says of the State of that City, and of the strong Fortress which the *French* have lately made at *Hunningen*, near the City, for a Bridle to the whole Country. He describes the state of the City of *Strasburg*, and doth not disapprove the Ceremonies of the *Lutherans*, except their being covered at their singing of Psalms, and he thinks it somewhat unusual to doe reverence at the naming of the Holy Ghost, as of Christ. He says, They have free use of their Religion as was

promiſed them; but thinks they make no great Proficience by the unuſual way of converting. Going down the *Rhine* he ſaw *Philippsburg*, *Spire* and the *Palatinate* of *Heidelberg*, which he briefly deſcribes. He commends ſeveral orders by *Carolus Ludovicus*, the Elect. Palatine, and among others that, whereby he permits the Exerciſe of ſeveral Religions in one Church, called the Church of *Concord*. He no leſs commends the preſent Electour, eſpecially on this account, that though he himſelf be very zealous in his own Religion; yet he freely permits them of a contrary perſuaſion the exerciſe of theirs, which he proves by a remarkable inſtance. He greatly commends the pleaſantneſs of that Countrey, as likewiſe of *Frankfort*, though not ſo pleaſant as the former. He is ſorry he did not ſee *Worms*, and in that the place where *Luther* offended *Eckius* ſo highly by defending God's cauſe, of which he ſays he was a very happy Inſtrument. He ſpeaks of *Mentz* and of the Tract of ground that lyes along the

the *Rhine*, till it meets with the *Moselle*, as also of the City of *Bon*, and of the great quantity of Golden Medals coined like the old *Roman* money found there in the time of the last Siege. He speaks somewhat of *Colin*, *Dusseldorp* and some other Cities; and lastly, of *Nimegen*, a City of *Gueldren*, where, in *May*, 1686. he wrote this last Epistle. He commends it for being the first Town that made resistance against the *French*, whereby it gave the rest of that Countrey time to recover themselves from the great Consternation they were in, and set their Affairs in better order. At the Description of *Holland*, he breaks off, and refers the Reader to the incomparable Book of Sir *William Temple* upon that Subject. He closes all with a great *Encomium* of the Prince of *Orange*.

REFLEXIONS.

LXXI.

It cannot but seem strange to one that Pa. 26
views Morat, *to imagine how it was pos-*

ſible for a Town ſo ſituated and ſo ſlightly fortified, to hold out againſt ſo powerfull a Prince, and ſo great an Army, that brought Cannon before it.

Morat now is a Town of ſmall ſtrength, but in thoſe times it was reckoned a conſiderable Garriſon, before the art of mining and blowing up of Walls and Fortifications was come to any perfection, and therefore what he ſpeaks of bringing Cannon before it is ridiculous, for all the Cannon that was brought was nothing, but Skins and Paſteboard.

LXXII.

My Lord Advoyer d'Erlach.

In his former Letters he mentioned him onely by the Title of Mr. now, by his abſolute Authority, he has created him a Lord. If he is really a Lord, he wanted manners before; if he be not, he baſely flatters him.

LXXIII.

LXXIII.

The Lutheran *Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief Paſſages of our Saviour's Life are repreſented: but there is no ſort of Religious reſpect paid them.* Pa. 2

Here you may ſee the Vanity of the Man, and what ſlender opinion he has of the Capacities of all Mankind beſides himſelf. He informs his Reader of the Faith and Rites of the *Lutheran* Church, as if it was as new to them as the Stories of *Preſter John*'s Dominions. He ſays, the *Lutheran* Churches are full of Pictures, it is very well, what then? but none, ſays he, does worſhip them, nor give them any religious honour, and is there any Child does not know all this?

LXXIV.

One of the Prebendaries to whom I addreſſed my ſelf, being, according to the German *cuſtome, a man of greater Quality than Learning,* Pa. 2

Is not this a piece of intolerable saucineſs to reflect ſo boldly on the whole *German* Nation, the greateſt and moſt noble part of *Europe*; A Nation furniſhed above all others with all ſorts of Arts and Literatures. He ſays, (If you will believe him) that you will find there men of greater Quality than Learning: But how great an untruth is this? for, not to ſpeak of the great number of Noble-mens Children that, in the Univerſities of *Germany* (which hath more ſuch Seminaries than all the reſt of *Europe* put together) do make ſuch great progreſs, that, before they come to the Age of twenty years do readily argue upon all the Points of Philoſophy and other liberal Arts, to the Admiration of all their Hearers; an Inſtance whereof the Univerſity of *Frankfort* affords in the Illuſtrious Baron of *Friſe*, and many others in many other places. I ſay, not to ſpeak any thing of that, who that has but the leaſt knowledge of *Germany*, could not reckon up hundreds of Perſons of the higheſt rank and beyond others in honour,

honour, but more eminent in Learning. For, I my self, though I have travelled over but a small part of *Germany*, yet surely over more than ever our Authour saw, have notwithstanding met with numbers of this Character. The name of *Puffendorf* is so famous for his many voluminous Writings, that it may contend for the Laurell with the most famous in all *Europe*: And yet this great Man doth freely yield to his Brother, the renowned Chancellour of *Stade*. Who is there, that doth not admire the universal and great Learning of Chancellour *Seckendorf*. Monsieur *Grot*, the Duke of *Hanover*'s Councellour of his Privy-chamber, is most famous, as for his great experience in publick Affairs, so especially for all sorts of Erudition. And how many famous Men, most exalted for their Learning and Nobility, may one find in the Court of the most potent Prince *Frederick William*, Electour of *Brandenburg*, for I speak not of others having onely seen these? Nay, there is in *Germany* such respect

paid to Learning, that, even among Princes of the ſacred *Roman* Empire, you may find moſt accompliſh'd Sons of the Muſes, who, if they had been born private Perſons, would yet have been Princes among the Learned. And among thoſe we may juſtly reckon the moſt ſerene Prince *Rudolph Auguſtus*, Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, whoſe knowledge, as of all other good Arts, ſo eſpecially of Divinity, is great, wonderfull, glorious, nay, all divine; Theſe are the words of Dr. *Kortholt*, the moſt famous Divine in *Holſtein*, concerning him; *Interim tacere hic non poſſum in eo* Auguſtum, *Sereniſſ.* Auguſtum Rudolphum, *exactè referre, quod ſublimi conſtitutus loco, natalium-què ſplendore fulgens, ſapientiæ ſtudium infra ſuum illud faſtigium nequaquam æſtimet; imò, non unius* Auguſti, *ſed* Philippi *inſuper* Macedonis, Alexandri *M.* Antonini, *aliorúmque Heroum indolem hoc ipſo illum exprimere, quibus tametſi aliis fuiſſent artibus deſtituti, vel ſola literarum admiratio, inque viros eruditione potentes benevolentia*

lentia immortalem nominis gloriam peperiſſet. Quin his omnibus eo illum illuſtriorem facit doctrina ſua, quo exculta ab illis humana præſtantior eſt, in quam ille omni ſtudio incumbit, divina ſapientia. In Libr. de variis Script. Edit. Nor even in the Critical part of ſtudy, which being ſmall advantage to civil Life, and is not neceſſary to one buſied in publick Affairs, are there wanting, whom you cannot enough admire or commend. For (leſt here alſo I ſhould channel forth into other parts of *Germany*, which I my ſelf have not ſeen) who knows not the name of *Gudius*, one of the Council of *Gluckſtadt*, whom the greateſt Criticks of our Age, *Gronovius*, *Morhovius*, and others, do almoſt adore? For although his great modeſty would never ſuffer any thing of his to be publiſhed, yet from this Fountain the greateſt Men do daily draw the richeſt ſtreams, and which they derive again to the world by their Learned works, not without this magnificent complaint, that they are not able with their moſt ardent

ardent and officious Prayers to overcome the Modesty of so great a Man. *Vide Orat.* Herm. Kirchneri, *de Illustriss. Ducibus, Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Nobilibus,* Germanis *in Academiis in Doctores & Magistros promotis.*

LXXV.

p. 280. *I was told there* (*at* Spier) *were some ancient MSS. in the Library that belongeth to the Cathedral: but one of the Prebendaries, to whom I addressed my self, being, according to the* German *Custome, a Man of greater quality than learning, told me he heard they had some ancient MSS. but he knew nothing of it, and the Dean was absent, so I could not see them.*

These and many other Curiosities of *Germany* may be seen in *Mabellonii Analectis Veterum*, lately printed at *Paris*.

LXXVI.

LXXVI.

There is no Prince in Germany *that is more abſolute than the Elector* Palatine. Pa. 287.

This is not true, many other Princes of the ſacred *Roman* Empire enjoy the ſame power, nay, a greater, as that privilege of the Electour of *Saxony, de non appellando & evocando.* Seckendorf *in Not. Imperii.* Though others alſo hold the ſame is granted to the Electour *Palatine*, as *Jac. Blum. ad Proceſſ.* Cam. *l.* 47. Indeed the Power of ſome is limited in reſpect of the orders of their Province, but not in reſpect of the Emperour. So *Monzambano, de ſtatu Imper.* Germ. *c.* 6. § 11. All, as well Seculars as Eccleſiaſticks, theſe made by Inheritance, thoſe by Election, do hold their Principalities as Monarchies, but with this difference, that in ſome places the Power of the Prince is abſolute, in others limited by certain agreements, with the States, as they call them, or Orders of Provinces and their

their Privileges. And *c.* 5. § 28. He declares their Privileges, *viz.* They, at leaſt moſt of them, have power of Life and Death over their Subjects, make Laws even contrary to Common-law, enjoy a freedom of their Religion, take to themſelves all the revenues of their Diſtricts, appoint Taxes, enter Leagues among one another and with Foreigners, ſo that they tend not againſt the Emperour or Empire. *Vide Inſtrum. Pacis, Art.* 8. § 11. *& Capitulat.* Leopold. *Artic.* 6, *&* 8. which Right is expreſly taken away from the Mediate (as they call them) Subjects of the Empire, *Art.* 9. *Capit. Leopold.* they defend themſelves by Arms and revenge Injuries offered to them by force, eſpecially againſt Foreigners. They build Fortreſſes in their Diſtricts, they coin money and what elſe is neceſſary to the Government of a City. *Add. Artic.* 33, 34. *Capit.* Leopold. *& Inſtrum. Pac. Artic.* 8. § 8. The peculiar dignity of Electours is acknowledged, *Artic.* 5. *Capit.* Leop. And all this they doe in their own right, not

not in the Emperour's Place. Nor doth it so much affect their Power, as the manner of their proceeding, that they acknowledge their Districts as Fiefs from the Emperour and Empire. For since now by hereditary right they transmit these things to their posterity, whatever it is, rather of solemn rite than true collation concerning the first acquest thereof, the Investiture is of force, and cannot be denyed to any that requires it within the lawfull time. From the Premisses it now appears what Power is left to the Electour *Palatine*, above the other Electours and Princes, as the Doctour dreams.

LXXVII.

And in their Prayers they name him their Sovereign. Pa. 282.

Of the Truth of this we doubt very much: And why did he not name his Authour from whom he heard thus much, since in matters ridiculous and of no moment, as of the Monk and the

the Nun of *Straßburg* he so carefully produced one? Especially when he dare not affirm that he heard it himself, because of his happy ignorance of the *German* Tongue, as he thinks it. For he takes the same pains in his Letters, to make folks believe that he is ignorant of this Language, as he does to set forth his knowledge in the *Italian*, and especially in the *Tuscan* Dialect. He says, *pag.* 280. *I was in a Sermon where I understood nothing.* Oh Honest Soul! He does not dissemble his Ignorance, no, not even in spiritual Matters, and confesses, that he understood not the Word of God, being wholly taken up in searching out the Curiosities and Politick Devices of the World through all his Travels. And yet he has not quite shook hands with Scripture, as you may see by these words of his, for these: *I was in a Sermon where I understood nothing.* See you not whence they are taken? Surely they are the Epitome of those words of St. *Paul*, 1 Ep. ad *Corinth.* c. 2. v. 14. *The natural man receiveth not the things*

things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.

But to return to our matter, the falsity of his relation may be known from this, that the word Sovereign cannot be expres'd in the *German* Tongue, or at least was never yet expres'd, perhaps because in *Germany* there is no such power purely absolute and subject onely to God, or limited by no Laws. And whatever word the Subjects should honour their Prince by, he that knows the Language will find that they have no word equivalent to this.

LXXVIII.

Among their Archives they preserve Pa. 286.
the original, which is onely a great Parchment, writ in High-dutch, *without any beauty answering to its Title.*

Yet presently he adds, *I was not at the pains of desiring to see it.* If therefore he saw not the MS. how can he give

give his Judgment of its form or Beauty, which he says is none at all? One might as well believe, that since it is called the Golden Bull, our Authour believed it to be made of Gold. Nor is it comprised in one Parchment as he affirms, nor indeed could it be, being divided into thirty sufficiently large Chapters.

LXXIX.

Pa. 286. *And since I could not have understood it.*

Is he therefore ignorant also of the *Latin* Tongue as well as the *German*; for the Golden-Bull is writ in both. The beginning of the *Latin* is this: *In nomine sanctæ & individuæ Trinitatis feliciter, Amen.* Carolus *IV. divinâ favente clementiâ* Romanorum *Imperator semper* Augustus, & Bohemiæ *Rex ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Omne Regnum in se ipso divisum desolabitur*, &c.

LXXX.

LXXX.

The Electour of Mentz *is an absolute Prince.* Palat.

He would have said the same of all the Princes of the sacred *Roman* Empire, especially of the Electours, if he had touch'd their Territories: so himself had destroy'd the folly of his own words after a manner usual to him, whereby he had affirmed the *Palatine* to be most absolute of all the Princes of *Germany*. Nay here he spoils what he said before; for the reason why he said, the *Palatine* was most absolute was, because he taxed his Subjects at his Pleasure; *There is no Prince in* Germany *that is more absolute than the Electour* Palatine, *for he layeth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaseth.* But yet when he calls the Electour of *Mentz* absolute, he gives the same reason. *For* (says he) *the subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the* Palatinate. How then is the Electour *Palatine* more absolute than *Mentz*?

LXXXI.

292. *The* German *Princes keep such forms, that without a great deal of a doe one cannot come within their Courts.*

What a malicious Calumny is this against the *German* Princes again? for let us take for granted what he says of the Electour of *Mentz* his Court, can he therefore from that one Court, and that of an Ecclesiastical Prince too, justly make an estimate of all the rest whom he hath not seen? Surely whoever has seen the Courts of the Electour of *Brandenburg*, and the Dukes of *Brunswig* and *Lunenburg* (I say nothing of those whom I have not seen myself) doth not onely admire the Royal Pomp and Magnificence, even worthy of the greatest Emperours, among such chosen Guards of their Body, shining with Gold and Silver; but also highly approves and extolls the great humanity, affability and bounty of all the Courtiers, every one excelling in his kind, and onely to be excelled

celled by his Lord and Master, even upon the bare account of their own worth, and the Favours they themselves have experienced.

LXXXII.

For it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred years ago. Pa. 294

He thinks forsooth that these golden pieces, which were taken out of the Earth, during the Siege of *Ben*, were 400 years old. But on what Foundation stands our Authour now? nay, What could he stand on? For if the Age had been marked on the pieces themselves, yet he could conclude nothing thence, since he acknowledges a great Cheat to be in them; and confesses, that he could not conceive the Reasons of him that had them formerly, why he should be minded to impose upon Posterity this way. For these are his words; *They are huge big, one weighed eight hundred Ducats, and the Gold was*

of the finenes of Ducat gold, but though they bore the Impressions of Roman *Medals, or rather Medaillons, they were all counterfeit.*

The Conclusion.

But here I lay down my Pen, my hand being tired, which alone I would not should be wanting to its office. For whatsoever things our Authour with splendour enough hath forged, or what errours with a pompous sort of eloquence, and therefore not without applause, he hath committed; it was my design without any ornaments barely to relate them; esteeming it more commendable that wit should be wanting to truth, than truth to wit, which by how much the plainer, by so much the more beautifull hath it always appeared to the eyes of all good men.

This may be Printed,

March 27. 1688.

Ro. L'Eſtrange.

REFLEXIONS

ON

Dr. *Gilbert Burnet's*

TRAVELS

INTO

D.11.50

SWITZERLAND, ITALY,

And certain parts of

GERMANY and *FRANCE*, &c.

Divided into Five

LETTERS.

Written originally in Latin by

MONSIEUR * * *

And now done into English.

London Printed, and are to be sold by *Randal Tayler*, near Stationers-hall, 1688.

526:12

TO THE READER.

IT is the Design and Study of many men of no mean note, in perusing the Works of others which are received with a general applause and commendation, by a disingenuous policy, working their wits and leaving no stone unturn'd, to discover some failures in them;

a fondly

fondly imagining that by publishing them to the learned world they gain no less to their own reputation than they detract from the glory of others, and as much as they suppose the piercing subtilty of their own judgment exceeds that of other men. And though it cannot be deny'd that some by this means have in some measure obtain'd their end, by reason of the manners and disposition of men oft too prone to lend an ear to him who under a false shew cunningly undermines the credit of some famous man; yet most instead of a desired applause have acquired nothing but hatred and infamy, and their own weakness

neſs become much more manifeſt; than their indeavours were to diſcover that of others. *Aſinius Pollio* the Roman, highly in favour in the Court of *Auguſtus*, upbraided the moſt elegant Roman Hiſtorian *Livius Patavinus* with being born at *Padua*, but with ſuch obſcurity, that learned men, even to theſe times are at a loſs to underſtand what he meant by it; and ſo very unhappily, that he hath beſtowed upon him by a judicious Perſon not long ſince this deſerved *Elogium*, viz. *Dum ab* Aſinio Pollione Patavinitas Livio *tam indignè objicitur, non immeritò utrùm in* Livio *plus* patavinitatis *quàm in* Aſinio aſinitatis *inſit, dubites. Plutarch*,

that moſt accompliſh'd Perſon, was cenſur'd not long ſince, as having a good judgment indeed, but not ſubtile enough, being unable to diſtinguiſh the various diſpoſitions of men contradicting oftentimes and thwarting one another, inſomuch that had he been to write the Life of *Catiline*, he would have repreſented him either covetous or prodigal, being far ſhort of the ſharp wit of *Saluſt*, who moſt judiciouſly terms him deſirous of what was another man's, profuſe of what was his own. But that I may conceal what with the greateſt elegancy is argued to the contrary by a moſt ingenious perſon, and proved by the

the character which *Plutarch* gave of *Sylla*, ſcarce ever conſiſtent with himſelf; This very *Plutarch* accuſes *Saluſt* (as if he had foreſeen that time would produce a man, who ſhould eſteem him far inferiour to *Saluſt* in ingenuity) of great ſtupidity, for his words are theſe in the Life of *Lucullus*; *I ſtrangely admire how* Saluſt *could be guilty of ſo much imprudence and ignorance as to ſay, that the Romans firſt ſaw Camels in the Battel betwixt* Lucullus *and* Mithridates, *as if he could believe that the Army under* Scipio *againſt* Antiochus, *or that under the command of* Archelaus *againſt the* Orchomænians *near* Cheronæa, *were ignorant what*

ſort of creature a Camel was. What Plagiaries are *Theocritus* and *Virgil* made by thoſe who with great vanity accuſe them of appropriating to themſelves many of *Homer's* Verſes? Nor can the greateſt Writers of our age eſcape the cenſure of ſuch conceited men; for is not *Thuanus* accuſed to have written as a ſtrange ſort of a Politician, *Paulus Sarpius* of ignorance, and *Palavicinus* of vanity? So that whitherſoever any man's affections or profit hurry him, if the Pen of a Writer tend not that way, in vain he may expect the applauſe of a good, learned, prudent or eloquent perſon. As for my part, I have always been averſe

verſe to that vain and inſipid pretence to wiſdom, by finding fault with another in hopes of advancing my own reputation, neither ever read I any Authour with a deſign to expoſe his failures or ignorance, but in order to correct my own; and if by chance in any Authour treating of variety of excellent Subjects, I find ſome ſlips, I eſteem of them as errours onely, and own my ſelf indebted to his inſtruction for my knowledge of them. Yet in *Benj. Priolus*'s Hiſtory onely, from the death of *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*, to the death of Cardinal *Mazarini*, in twelve Books in *Latin*, ſo much applauded by the generality of

learned men, I thought I obſerved many things that would ſcarce admit of an excuſe. For, beſides the vaſt number of Sentences out of *Tacitus*, *Seneca*, and other ancient Writers, which without any mention of the Authours he hath mingled with his own words, or to ſpeak more truely, with which he hath mingled his own words; I ſay, beſides that innumerable company of Sentences, he hath tranſcribed whole paragraphs from *Lipſius*, and entire pages out of *Barclay's Argenis*, whereby he ſeems to me to have plaid the notorious Plagiary with ſo much the leſs judgment, by how much the ſtyle of both the aforeſaid Authours

thours is juſtly reprehended by the beſt Wits: *Lipſius*'s ſtyle is Latin indeed, but crude and harſh; *Barclay*'s pleaſant and florid, but not Latin. I ſhall endeavour to prove what I have ſaid by this one example, viz. *Priolus*, in the Book of his Hiſtory, ſpeaking of the affairs and commotions in *England*, violently tending to the deſtruction and ruine of that moſt happy Kingdom, endeavours to give us a Character of *Charles* the Firſt, the beſt of Kings; and of *Cromwell* likewiſe, the worſt of Subjects. King *Charles* the Firſt, he deſcribes in theſe words; *Charles, a perſon of a moſt mild diſpoſition, not prone to revenge by a due ſeveri-*

ſeverity, poſſeſſed the Kingdom by deſcent from his Anceſtours; who abhorring the height of buſineſs, as one who was too much in love with eaſe, committed both himſelf and his affairs to unfaithfull counſels. Hence aroſe the cauſe of all thoſe evils to the beſt of Kings, through the envy eſpecially, not ſo much of Fairfax *as, of* Cromwell, *who watch'd his opportunity to take advantage of the King's overſights. Whilſt* Charles's *mind was thus exempt from cares, he wrought ſo effectually that no part of the Kingdom was free from infection. And now fury and ambition took up arms againſt the King, and laid hands on him proſtrate; who began though late*

to

to be mindfull of his cauſe and reputation: but now, though in greatneſs of reſolution inferiour to no Prince, he had loſt the diſpoſal of himſelf; and he, whom nothing but his own goodneſs could make a captive, was compelled, by the villany of others, to manifeſt to the world his vertues. On the contrary, of *Cromwell* he ſays thus; Cromwell *a man of great courage and counſell, moſt ſubtile in pleaſing, came ſhort of none in credulity and pride, as oft as he might with Safety: at length he proceeded ſo far*, &c. Now *Barclay*, in his *Argenis*, deſcribes *Meleander* in the very ſame words that *Priolus* does *Charles*, and likewiſe *Lycogenes* with the ſame

ſame that he does *Cromwell.* Of *Meleander* he ſays thus: Meleander, *a man of moſt mild diſpoſition, poſſeſſeth the Kingdom of* Sicily, *by deſcent from Father and Grandfathers--- who I am apt to think enjoy'd too great happineſs, nor was he prone to requite injuries by a due ſeverity. He did not contract friendſhips by counſel; ---abhorr'd the height of buſineſs, which for the moſt part he committed to unfaithfull perſons--- And hence aroſe the cauſe of all thoſe evils to the beſt of Kings, eſpecially through the envy and ambition of* Lycogenes, *who perfidiouſly watch'd an opportunity to take advantage of the King's overſights--- And whilſt the King*

ex-

exempt from cares indulgeth himſelf in eaſe, Lycogenes *fills the Court with men of his own faction, publickly diſpoſeth of Offices to his friends, as properly belonging to him, to the intent that no part of the Kingdom might be free from infection. And now fury and ambition had taken up Arms for* Lycogenes *in a manner publickly againſt the King.* Meleander, *though late, the War being now ready to break forth, began to be mindfull of his reputation and the cauſe for which he took the Purple, being inferiour to no Prince in greatneſs of reſolution-- And he, whom nothing could make a captive but his own goodneſs, was compell'd by the villany of others to mani-*

manifeſt to the world his vertues. Of *Lycogenes* thus; *Lycogenes was a man of great courage and counſel, moſt ſubtile in pleaſing the People; but he was inferiour to no one in perfidiouſneſs and credulity, and as oft as he might with ſafety, in pride.* Would not any one be eaſily induced to believe that *Charles* and *Meleander*, *Lycogenes* and *Cromwell* were the ſame perſons; *Priolus* and *Barclay* the ſame Authours? Notwithſtanding, ſince in other reſpects he hath ſhewn himſelf a perſon of great probity and prudence, having diſcharged the office of an Hiſtorian with the greateſt exactneſs, whether his method be conſider'd, or the perſpicuity

ity of what he relates, or what is equal to both, truth; (*dum quid veri dicere auſus, & quid falſi dicere non auſus ſit,*) who cannot eaſily wink at his borrowed ornaments? Who, in an Hiſtorian, ought not to be much more taken with the real worth and beauty of juſt Hiſtory than in detecting the blemiſhes of Oratory; Since few are able to expreſs the former, it is meanneſs in any to endeavour the latter; And now if after many commendations I ſhould at length perceive my ſelf obliged to add ſomething to his diſcredit, I would be ſo earneſt in ſetting forth his praiſes, that when I ſhould come to ſay any thing to the contrary,

trary, my breath might fail; and ſo, if I added nothing, I might not ſeem ſo much to favour him as my ſelf. Notwithſtanding all this, how averſe ſoever I have been hitherto from all manner of cenſure of Books or Authours, I muſt now confeſs I cannot well approve of the Epiſtles of Doctour *Gilbert Burnet* of his travails into *Helvetia*, *Italy*, *France*, and ſome parts of *Germany*. His too ſharp reflexions in almoſt every page move my choler. What a horrible preſumption is it for a private man, in his paſſage onely through ſome of the famouſeſt Nations of the World, when for want of time, to name

name nothing elſe, 'twas impoſſible for him to underſtand their Vertues, out of a vain itch of Scribling, to lay open their vices and defects, and publiſh them as it were from the Pulpit; nay rather than not ſtuff his Papers, malitiouſly to forge things not known and unheard of by them? Certainly no Nation under the Sun is ſo perfectly furniſh'd with variety of all good things, as to want nothing; nor ſo accompliſh'd in all vertuous qualities, as never to decline into popular errours, and cuſtomary failures, which at firſt ſight ſeem great to a ſtranger; but if he throughly view and conſider the diſpoſition

and manners of a People, and acquaint himſelf with their humours, contrary to thoſe of his own Nation, they will quickly appear to be not onely not great, but ſcarce failures at all. *Thus nothing is more unjuſt* (to uſe the words of *Barclay* in the firſt Book of his *Argenis*) *than to condemn thoſe things which we our ſelves do not doe or ſee, eſpecially if they be approved of by the conſent of whole Nations: for it is manifeſt when time hath made them pleaſant to us, it was not from any intrinſick fault, but from our own ignorance that they diſpleaſed us at firſt ſight; and moreover we muſt ſuppoſe that every Nation hath both cuſtoms and*

and cloathing ſuitable to the climate, which the genius of the Countrey will inſinuate to any one, who will endeavour to inform himſelf by a juſt abode there. I muſt confeſs our Authour is not the firſt in this ſort of falſe Accuſation, having imitated herein the ſlanderous *Sorbierius* in his invective againſt the moſt polite nation of the *Engliſh*; but ſince he hath been ſo ingeniouſly expoſed by the famous Dr. *Sprat*, one would have thought no one durſt have followed ſo infamous an example, if not for love of vertue, for fear of puniſhment: But of that the Doctour is little fearfull in *Holland*, and the other he hath diſcarded in more

papers than this. Again, I cannot expreſs how ill I reſented it, that a perſon ſhould aſperſe whole Nations, and they ſo great, after having deſerved ſo very ill of ſuch an excellent Prince as his own King. *England* hath been bleſſed with very many renowned and good Princes, all whoſe vertues ſeem to concentre in him, than whom certainly none ever more promoted the ſafety of his People, and the glory and profit of his whole Kingdom, with ſo much goodneſs, prudence, courage and conſtancy. His Subjects own all this, and are ſenſible of the bounty and magnificence of their King, yet are uncapable

of

of taking so full a prospect as those who from foreign parts calmly view and consider all things: Even as men in a great Ship, making its way to the haven through raging waves and furious tempests, being each too intent upon his own affairs, cannot so well judge of the dexterity and prudence of the Pilot, as they who carefully behold all at a due distance. So great is the Reverence and Renown of this Prince amongst other Nations, that what *Scipio* said of the People of *Rome* may be truly applicable to him; ‖ *There is no King upon earth they less desire should be their enemy, or whose friendship they covet more.*

‖ Neminem in Terris Principem hodie dici posse, quem minus sibi hostem esse velint, aut amicum malint.

Now for a perſon that hath deſerved ill of ſo great a Prince, what addition can be made to his crime, but by calumniating and aſperſing whole Nations, nay even the whole World it ſelf? There are onely two things in the World which adorn men, and raiſe a private perſon above the vulgar, Vertue and Learning; but Vertue ſo far exceeds Learning, as it is more commendable to doe than think onely great things, and ſince no City or Society of men can conſiſt without it. Wherefore they ſtill who could not attain to both, ſetting aſide Learning, readily made choice of Vertue; and ſome with ſuch benefit to the Com-

mon-

mon-wealth and their Countrey, that many have almoſt been perſuaded that Vertue without Learning doth not onely not become leſs, but more pure and venerable. An example of which, not to ſearch into Antiquity, we have in that famous Conſtable of *France*, *Monmoranzie*, who being in a manner illiterate, got notwithſtanding ſo much renown, not onely by Martial conduct, but by the peaceable management of State-affairs, as if all the *Tacitus's*, *Seneca's*, *Plato's* and *Ariſtotle's* had been his Aſſiſtants; a convincing Argument certainly, that Vertue is to be preferred before Learning, ſince we ſee

it capable of performing all the offices of the other. But our Authour is not of this mind. Learning in his opinion is much preferable to Vertue, ſo that from this alone he ſeeks to purchaſe an immortal fame, eſteeming no imputation ſo great and infamous as that of Ignorance. Wherefore, after all that hath been ſaid of his foul aſperſions and arrogancy, if ſtill he be eſteem'd a Learned man, and, Vertue excepted, throughly accompliſh'd; he will laugh and triumph at our vain endeavours, and ſecurely contemn and deſpiſe whatever can be ſaid againſt him. Nevertheleſs, as to this, I have a great deal to ſay; yet in ſuch a manner that,

after

after I have made appear ſeveral of his deceptions, errors and falſe argmentations, the Reader hath free liberty, if he pleaſe, notwithſtanding all this, to eſteem of him as a moſt learned and rare accompliſh'd Perſon. After a carefull peruſal of all our Authour's Epiſtles, I find him diſcharging himſelf more eſpecially in three reſpects; 1. that of a Calumniatour, of which I have ſpoken before; 2. of a Critick; 3. of a Politician. As for the part of a Divine, he never plaid it, but onely once at *Geneva*, where, as he affirms, he preach'd with general applauſe to the People. As a Critick, 1. he diſcourſes of the votive Shield at *Lions*;

2. he

2. he explains an Inſcription in Stone which he ſaw there; 3. he corrects a paſſage in *Vegetius*; 4. he raiſes diſputes from ſeveral Manuſcripts, concerning that dubious Saying in Scripture, *There are three that bear record*, &c. and, 5. he comments largely on the Grotto's of *Rome* and *Naples*; which laſt piece of Criticiſm, if I miſtake not, he mightily fanſies to himſelf to be the beſt place of his whole Book; but how little he deſerves the name of a Critick, in all theſe, I ſhall ſhew in my following Reflexions. It may be thought, perhaps, that being intent upon buſineſs of greater moment, as a true Politician ſearching curiouſly into

into the ſecrets of Governments, he was not at leiſure to mind ſuch trifling matters. But even here likewiſe the vanity of the man appears no leſs, it being matter of juſt doubt, whether he have approved himſelf a worſe Critick or Politician; the truth of which no one, that will take the pains to reade the following papers, can reaſonably call in queſtion. He treats chiefly of two Republicks, *viz. Switzerland* and *Venice*; of the former of which I have taken but little notice, being informed by a friend that a learned man of *Zurich* is about a work, in order to expoſe the inſipid errours of the Doctour, and to communicate

nicate to the learned World the true deſcription of his Country. Of the latter, *viz.* that of the *Venetians*, more at large. And here I cannot ſufficiently admire at the pride and vanity of the man, which cauſe him at the very beginning almoſt of his firſt Epiſtle, in boaſting words to promiſe his Reader, that he would diſcourſe of nothing that had been handled by any one elſe; a task, as exceeding his ability, ſo not to be performed by a wandring Traveller for want of leiſure. Who can be ignorant how exactly *Soranzio*, a Senatour, *Nanio*, and laſt of all *Amelottius Houſſaius*, have deſcribed the Republick of *Venice*? What can

can the Doctour imagine remaining to be ſaid after ſuch perſons? Nay, rather what a conceited opinion hath he of his own abilities, in compariſon to theirs? But I muſt confeſs I am too ſevere upon our Authour, which injury ought to be redreſs'd. He declares he will relate nothing that hath been taken notice of by ordinary Writers; wherein he's as good as his word, having writ nothing but forgeries far diſtant from truth. Such things, I can eaſily grant, were never ſaid by any one; ſo that without doubt he may paſs for the firſt Authour of them: Since therefore our Authour's Writings can admit of excuſe in this

this particular onely, I shall endeavour to prove it by many and evident arguments, and in so doing endeavour to oblige him. I will oppose therefore to the Doctour that most noble personage *Amelottius*, who for many years resided at *Venice*, and was Secretary in an Embassie from *France*, and employ'd likewise in other publick affairs; whereas the Doctour was there onely fourteen days, as a wandring Minister of God's Word: And if upon comparing these two the courteous Reader shall often find them directly contradicting themselves, he may freely judge which of them deserves rather to be credited; onely this

this I would desire of him, that if he adhere not to the Doctour, yet that he would believe him not the less learned, but that he industriously made a shew of ignorance, in order to perform his promise. Hitherto indeed our Authour may seem to have treated of things very splendid and magnificent, and although somewhat unhappily, yet the grandeur of the matter seems to plead pardon for his errours; and that which we learn in the Schools may be of some consolation to him, *viz.* in great matters to will is sufficient. But if thou desire to know more from me, if since it was impossible for him to fill three hun-

hundred and six pages with so few things, with what at last he compleated them; and likewise hast a mind to be informed by me whose part he hath acted; in truth I am much afraid his reputation will be utterly blasted, and hiss'd at by the very boys. Whatever come of it, I am resolved in the first place to conceal nothing, in order to satisfie thy desire. Know therefore that in the following Pages the Doctour acts the part of *Æsop*, but so as not worthy to be taken notice of by men, and onely to be admired by women and children, relating onely bare and empty old wives fables, with which he is so mightily taken, that he

spends

ſpends many pages in recounting of them. That ſingle Fable of the Monks of *Bern* is ſcarcely concluded by our Authour in fourteen pages, and he relates innumerable others of the ſame nature. The remaining ſpace he devotes to the women and damoſels, on whom he makes not unlearned obſervations, whereby he hath much obliged the moſt obſequious admirers of that fair ſex. Notwithſtanding they find fault with him for one thing, that even here alſo he hath plaid the Critick too nicely; one while ſcornfully twitting the *Swiſs* Virgins of being ſaluted with a touch, and another while thoſe of *Frankford*

of wearing Mantles with a gold Embroidery of too great a breadth, and this they take intolerably ill, that he was not asham'd to mention putting of hands under the Virgins coats. But that by conversing with women he oftentimes went away much improv'd, he shews even by this, that he learnt with what wonderfull art their Pots were made in which they cook their meat in their Kitchins, as may be seen in his ninety fourth page. Lastly, the Doctour more than once plays the Panegyrist, but altogether as unsuccesfully. His subject indeed sometimes is good, noble and great; but, if you consider narrowly his words,

words, you will find him lanch out in his commendations, not of the worth of his ſubject, but in hopes of procuring an eſtimation of his own judgment; and how great ſoever the vertues are of the perſon whom he applauds, yet notwithſtanding he would always have it thought that his own Eloquence is greater. Moreover he mixes ſuch ambiguous and ſharp things in his very Encomiums, that a man has need of all the good opinion he ever conceiv'd of the Authour to keep him from believing that by a ſhew of commendation he diſparages his ſubject; ſo that I am of opinion th y are not the moſt

unhappy of whom he takes the leaſt notice. But now to ſay ſomething touching my method. The errours and blemiſhes as they follow one another in order I demonſtrate and confute; nor do I raiſe a diſpute about his words, but when I produce them firſt without the leaſt alteration. Farthermore, to every Epiſtle I have added an Argument, that whatever is contained therein may be ſeen as it were in a ſhort Table. Praiſe from the work, I moſt freely confeſs, I exſpect none, ſince there is little need of ingenuity, the Authour's errours being ſo groſs and palpable, that one of a mean capacity might have diſco-

diſcover'd them. If twice or thrice I ſeem to animadvert on ſome ſlight miſtakes, I would be thought, ſince * he ſo ſeverely reprehends the like in others, unwilling to paſs them by in him. So when I blame him for putting *Francis* the Firſt before *Charles* the Fifth, any one would think he might eaſily be pardoned for it, who imagines him of opinion that that order, ſo ſtrictly adhered to by Secretaries in all Courts, was not worth his obſervance: and I confeſs I ſhould have been of the ſame mind too, had I not found him ſtrictly obſerving it in another place. For mirth ſake I will give you an inſtance. In the firſt place, no

* See his Book againſt *Varillas*.

one will deny but that between Protestants and Catholicks our Authour will assign the chief place to the first. Secondly, among Protestants onely, without doubt he prefers the *Calvinists* before the *Lutherans*. Now see with what exactness he hath assign'd to each their place, page 283. these are his words; *Prince* Charles Lewis *built a Church for them all three, which he called the Church of the Concord, in which both,* 1. Calvinists, 2. Lutherans, and 3. Papists, *had the exercise of their Religion.* I have omitted an innumerable company of other things which might justly be blamed in any other, of which I will relate one or two here.

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At the beginning almoſt of the firſt Epiſtle, *he fanſies*, he ſays, *it will not be an ingrateſull entertainment if he give ſome account of thoſe things that pleaſed him moſt in the Places through which he paſſed.* But the firſt of all is that which he relates to us in his ſecond page, of the miſery and extreme poverty of *France: As I came all the way from* Paris *to* Lyons, *I was amaſed to ſee ſo much miſery as appeared, not onely in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the marks of an extreme poverty ſhewed themſelves both in the Buildings, the Cloaths, and almoſt in the Looks of the Inhabitants.* What more rational conſequence can be drawn from

theſe words than this, that the Doctour was mightily pleaſed with the extreme miſery of the Inhabitants of *France*? Moreover, it is worth obſervance, that he is much more copious in expoſing the defects and vices of a People, than relating of their vertues; inſomuch that he ought to have told us, that he would declare not ſuch things as pleas'd him, but ſuch with which he was diſpleas'd. In the eighth page, ſpeaking of the Arſenal at *Geneva*, he ſays, that in proportion to the State it *is* the greateſt in the World, for it contains arms for more men than are in the State; which is abſurd enough, for that re-

ſtricti-

ſtriction, in proportion to the State, hath no force at all here, if you juſtly weigh the matter, and the ſenſe is this, The Arſenal at *Geneva* is the greateſt in the world: But if he had ſtated his propoſition thus, The People of *Geneva*, in proportion to their ſmall State, *have* the greateſt Arſenal in the World, then perhaps he would not have err'd much from the truth, nor the conſent of his Readers. Page 10. He divides Juſtice into publick and private, which Diviſion, as it is unknown to all ſorts of Ethicks and Politicks hitherto, ſo in my opinion it is very unmeet and incongruous. For what elſe is private Juſtice but clandeſtine,

viz.

viz. Injuſtice, ſince all true Juſtice is publick? But he underſtands by private Juſtice commutative, which, he ſays, is very ill obſerv'd by the Merchants of *Geneva*; ſo that he will not ſuffer them alſo to want their Elogium. Page 20. he ſays, *The* Switzers *are heavy witted*; although a little after, Page 21. he affirms that *That very Nation hath not onely an extreme ſenſe of liberty*, but, Page 25. that, *They manage all matters with great dexterity and addreſs*, which are moſt manifeſt tokens certainly not of a heavy but ſubtile wit. Pag. 131. *In the Library of St.* Mark, *at* Venice, he ſays, *there are no Manuſcripts, but Modern*, viz. *ſuch*

ſuch as have been written in our time, to be found; affirming that, *none of them are above five hundred years old:* But with what reaſon our Authour can term Manuſcripts of five hundred years old Modern, may not unreaſonably be queſtion'd by any one. It would take up a whole year, if I were minded to omit nothing of ſuch like ſtuff as this. Therefore it is ſatisfaction enough to me to expoſe ſome of the groſſeſt paſſages, that I might not ſpend too much time, which is exceeding pretious to me; inſomuch that thoſe fourteen days which I ſpent in writing theſe Notes, I eſteem in a manner loſt.

Farewell.

REFLEXIONS
UPON
Dr. *GILBERT BURNET's* TRAVELS

Into *Switzerland*, *Italy*, and certain parts of *Germany* and *France*, &c. divided into Five LETTERS *Engliſhed* from the *Latin*.

BEfore we come to make our Criticks upon the Work it ſelf, it will not be amiſs to take notice of what certain Worthy Perſons have briefly obſerved concerning this Book in their *Acta Eruditorum*, publiſhed at *Leipſick* on the firſt of *October*, MDCLXXXVII. For as all their other Writings are done with a great deal of Impartialneſs and without Bitterneſs; ſo their Abſtract being

prefixed to each of Dr. *Burnet*'s Letters, we intend to make them ſerve for an Argument to them all: But yet here we mark by the bye, that thoſe *Vertuoſo's* are miſtaken in this, where, they ſay, our Authour's Letters were firſt publiſhed in *Italian*; for, being a Native of *Scotland*, he printed them at *Roterdam*, in *Engliſh*, MDCLXXXVI. ſoon after which they were brought into *England*, but preſently ſuppreſs'd.

The Authour divides his whole Relation into five Letters: The firſt bearing date from *Zurich*, 1. *Sept.* 1685. The ſecond from *Milaine*, 2. *Octobr.* the ſame year. The third from *Florence*, 13. *Novembr.* The fourth from *Rome*, 8. *Decembr.* And the fifth from *Nimegen*, 20. *Maii*, 1686.

The

The Argument of the first Letter, dated at Zurich, Sept. *the first, in the year,* 1685.

OUR Authour begins his Relation from his Travels in *France*, that he went from *Paris* towards *Lyons*, where he has remark'd little else, besides the extreme poverty that was every where apparent in Villages and Towns. At *Lyons* he observed an Inscription not taken notice of by others, (as he pretends) wherein the Husband *Cecalius Calistio* complains of his Wife *Sutia Antis*, *quod dum Nimia* (thus it was corruptly written) *pia esset*, that is, Too much and superstitiously pious, *impia facta sit:* which he supposes must be understood of Christianity, which at that time was look'd on as criminal.

At *Grenoble* he found a Manuscript of *Vegetius*, from whence he thinks to give light to a passage concerning the stature of the Souldiers, which in

the printed Books is obſcure; they reading, *Scio ſemper menſuram à* Mario *Conſule exactam.* And in that Manuſcript the word *à* is wanting, and for *Mario* there is III, whence ſome body might make *Mario*, as of the *C.* they might make *Conſule*; whereas it ought to be read III. C. *trium Cubitorum.*

Of Matters relating to *Geneva*, paſſing by, as conſtantly he does, or ſlightly touching at what is common and known to others, he much extolls one thing and propoſes it to the Imitation of greater Cities, namely, that they conſtantly keep in their publick Granary Proviſion of Corn for two years, allowing the Citizens notwithſtanding to buy their Corn where they pleaſe, onely the Bakers and publick Inns being obliged to take off a certain quantity, with a moderate gain to the Common-wealth, which yet in a little time will ſuffice to pay vaſt Debts. Then he compares the practice at *Rome* with this of *Geneva.*

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At *Rome*, ſays he, all the Corn of the Province muſt be ſold to the Pope. The Seller receives, though but ſlowly, five Ducats *per* Buſhel: This Buſhel afterward in the Pope's Name, though a fifth part leſs, for double price; ſo for five ſhillings the Exchequer receives twelve. Then more Corn is forced upon the Bakers every year than they can put off, and what's left upon their hands the Exchequer buys back again at the firſt price of Ducats. This is explained, *&c.* and by this invention now continued for thirty years, he writes that the Pope's Countrey is ſo deſolate, that a great part of the Land, becauſe it cannot be us'd to advantage, lyes quite neglected, but that the Magiſtrates of *Geneva* are contented with ſmall gain. Other things which he commends at *Geneva*, are the publick Frugality which appears by the ſmalneſs of their ſtipends, the number of Learned Men, the Civility of the Inhabitants, the exactneſs of their Judicatures, their good Laws, eſpecially that whereby all

Lands, even though the price is agreed on between the Buyer and the Seller, are expoſed to publick Sale, to the advantage both of the Poſſeſſours and Creditours. What he ſays concerning the form of the Commonwealth, and of the protection, which that City ought to expect from *Berne* and *Zurich*, and of the danger whereinto they are fallen, now that by the neglect of the *Switzers*, the Dutchy of *Burgundy* is annexed to *France*, alſo of the Lake of *Geneva*, and of its Fiſh, and what elſe he adds, we omit. Then he commends *Nicolas Fatio Duillier*, and treats largely of the Affairs of *Berne*.

He ſets forth the power of that Common-wealth which, he ſays, commands above a third part of *Switzerland*, and contains 450 Pariſhes. He commends many things in the Civil and Eccleſiaſtick Government, this chiefly, that the Subjects are not drain'd with Tributes, and therefore live much more eaſily than in the more flouriſhing Countries of *France* and

and *Italy*. One thing he finds fault with, that the Governours of Towns and Villages which are subject to the City gain mightily by the Mulcts of the Inhabitants, which serves for their Salary. He tells us how the ill consequences of Bandyings and Factions, which were used in the Election of Officers were lately prevented by a wholsome Law. He says, the City, which of it self is not over strong, owes its Security as well to the number and courage of her Citizens and Inhabitants, who all bear Arms, as to the emulation of the neighbouring Princes, for equally conserving the Society and Friendship of *Switzerland*. Yet again he advises of the dangerous neighbourhood of *France* in *Burgundy*. He observ'd a notable difference in the Laws relating to Religion; for the Men of *Berne* and other Cities of *Switzerland* which follow the reformed Religion, onely command their Subjects, if any dissent therefrom, to go out of their Dominions, and permit them to enjoy their Possessions, or sell

them and bear away the value. But under the Roman-Catholicks 'tis Death for any to change their Religion. This ſeverity both lately and heretofore occaſions Diſcords and Wars between the *Cantons*, which yet by the prudence and moderation of the Nobility are eaſily appeas'd, even the Pope's *Nuncio's* concurring to quiet Counſels towards the conſervation of the *Switzers* Peace and Freedom for the ſecurity of *Italy*, diſpenſing with that zeal which otherwiſe they ſhew againſt Proteſtants.

On occaſion of a Deſcription of the Churches of *Berne* he relates a Story of a certain Dominican in counterfeiting the appearance of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary* and other crimes, for which the Authours were executed, *An.* 1509. He ſays he ſaw the authentick Acts of 130 pages, written in a ſmall character, and he carefully read them, and obſerved, that the printed Editions were not exact and correct enough, *&c.* Among the Roman-Catholicks at *Fribourg* in *Utchland* and elſewhere,

elſewhere, he notes the higheſt degree of Superſtition, and the like.

He very much commends the Polity of the Church of *Zurich* and their great Charity beſtowed on Hoſpitals: But when he has related, that Sermons are daily had there, being formerly brought in by the Reformers in lieu of their daily Maſſes, he adviſes to contract them, ſuppoſing thereby, that the People would come more frequently, and liſten more attentively. He adds, That their Preachers would do better, if, holding to their firſt uſe, they would employ themſelves in the plain expoſition of Scripture; for ſo (ſays he) they will more and more attain to the ſenſe thereof, which is the true knowledge of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and eaſe themſelves of that labour, which thoſe long and elaborate Sermons require, though yet they do but little edifie the People. Among the Archives of the Chapter of *Zurich*, he ſaw a great many Letters of *Bullinger* and other famous Men. He adds ſomething concerning

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the Diſſenſions relating to Prieſtly habits, between the Biſhops and Preſbyterians in *England*.

We muſt not forget a Relation of our Authour concerning a Paſſage, 1 Ep. *John* 5. 7. *There are three that bear witneſs in Heaven, the Father*, &c. Upon which account our Authour peruſed Manuſcript Bibles among the *Switzers* and in *Italy*. The ſumme is this: In the *Greek* Copies, which he ſaw, that Verſe is not found, nor in many of the *Latin*, though 800 or 900 years old, in ſome, that it was written but in another hand. That it is found in the Book of *Geneva*, and alſo in the *Venetian* Library of S. *Mark*, and in the *Florentine* of S. *Laurence*, and in one of four at *Strasbourg*. That in all theſe the eighth Verſe is miſplaced and joined unto it by the word *ſicut*. But he admires that it is omitted even in thoſe, before which S. *Jerom*'s Preface is read, which defends that Paſſage againſt the *Arians*; and that *Eraſmus* did not add that Preface to his Edition of S. *Jerom*, when yet he

saw it in a Manuscript at *Basel* and the same is found in many more. By the way he observes, that in the *Vatican* Library there are no Copies of the Bible above 400 years old, except a *Greek* one, which is accounted but meerly by conjecture to be of 1400 years standing.

After this Digression, returning to the Matters of *Switzerland*, he highly extolls the Goodness which the reformed *Switzers* shew to such *Frenchmen* as are driven out of their Countrey for the same Religion.

Then he speaks of the difference between the reformed Divines about the Question of the Universality of the Merit and Grace of *Jesus Christ* and others, which our Authour calls Speculative, they not touching the Foundation of Religion. But the People of *Zurich* and *Berne*, and afterwards of *Geneva*, compell'd all that desire to be admitted to either Ecclesiastick or Scholastick Office, to subscribe to a certain Form, which is rejected by *Amiraldus*, *Capellus* and their Followers.

He

the Diſſenſions relating to Prieſtly habits, between the Biſhops and Preſbyterians in *England*.

We muſt not forget a Relation of our Authour concerning a Paſſage, 1 Ep. *John* 5. 7. *There are three that bear witneſs in Heaven, the Father*, &c. Upon which account our Authour peruſed Manuſcript Bibles among the *Switzers* and in *Italy*. The ſumme is this: In the *Greek* Copies, which he ſaw, that Verſe is not found, nor in many of the *Latin*, though 800 or 900 years old, in ſome, that it was written but in another hand. That it is found in the Book of *Geneva*, and alſo in the *Venetian* Library of S. *Mark*, and in the *Florentine* of S. *Laurence*, and in one of four at *Strasbourg*. That in all theſe the eighth Verſe is miſplaced and joined unto it by the word *ſicut*. But he admires that it is omitted even in thoſe, before which S. *Jerom*'s Preface is read, which defends that Paſſage againſt the *Arians*; and that *Eraſmus* did not add that Preface to his Edition of S. *Jerom*, when yet he

he ſaw it in a Manuſcript at *Baſel* and the ſame is found in many more. By the way he obſerves, that in the *Vatican* Library there are no Copies of the Bible above 400 years old, except a *Greek* one, which is accounted but onely by conjecture to be of 1400 years ſtanding.

After this Digreſſion, returning to the Matters of *Switzerland*, he highly extolls the Goodneſs which the reformed *Switzers* ſhew to ſuch *Frenchmen* as are driven out of their Countrey for the ſame Religion.

Then he ſpeaks of the difference between the reformed Divines about the Queſtion of the Univerſality of the Merit and Grace of *Jeſus Chriſt* and others, which our Authour calls Speculative, they not touching the Foundation of Religion. But the People of *Zurich* and *Berne*, and afterwards of *Geneva*, compell'd all that deſire to be admitted to either Eccleſiaſtick or Scholaſtick Office, to ſubſcribe to a certain Form, which is rejected by *Amiraldus*, *Capellus* and their Followers.

He

He dislikes this as a matter of Curiosity in things of small moment and much more (though he says he has great respect for the Divines of the City) the usurping of that Power which onely belongs to God; who has Dominion over Consciences, and he reckons the Invention of such Forms fatal to the Church.

REFLEXIONS.

I.

Page 4. *The Shield of Silver of 22 Pounds weight, in which some Remains of guilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of* Scipio's, *of restoring a fair Captive to a* Celtiberian *Prince, is certainly the Noblest piece of Plate that is now extant.*

We shall observe three Things from these words.

I. Our Authour says this Shield is of 22 Pounds weight; whereas the famous *Sponius*, *dans ses Recherches curieuses d'antiquitè*, *Dissertation* I. affirms it to weigh but 21 Pounds; and also

lso our Authour adds a Pound, which y no means becomes ſo able and accurate a Searcher of Antiquity as he would fain be thought, eſpecially in a thing ſo notable; for, as he himſelf profeſſes, it is the nobleſt piece that has been handed down from old times to ours. And though this may ſeem but a ſlight difference, yet if every Critick ſhould think ſo, and in like manner add one Pound a piece, how far from Truth would this be at laſt? However I have no other Deſign here but to ſhew, that our Authour may err and not care to be exact. No man will deny the Authority of *Sponius* to be greater than his in this matter, who doth but know that he is an Inhabitant of that City wherein this Shield is kept, and moſt learnedly wrote an entire Diſſertation thereupon.

II. He onely calls it a Shield, without any other diſtinction of Name, thereby giving his Readers great reaſon to doubt of the Truth of the matter, ſince no man can uſe a Shield of that

that weight for the defence of h
Body; these are the words of *Sponiu*
On n'aura pas la pensee, que ce fut u
bouclier pour la guerre, si l'on pre
garde à sa pesanteur, qui auroit tr
fatiguè le bras d'un Soldat. Dissertat
on I. *de ses Recherches curieus. d'ant*
quité.

It is therefore a votive Shield. No
your votive Shields were large *Dis*
of Metal whereon were engraven th
Figures of *Hero's* and their memor
ble Actions; which were devoted an
hung up in the Temples of the God
which was a most ancient usage, an
perhaps took its rise from that cu
stome among the *Greeks* of paintin
and engraving Shields of War; a
in *Homer* we find of *Achilles* and
Ajax his Shield. *Livy* in XXVth
Book relates, that in the Temple o
the Capitol there was a Silver Shiel
of 138 Pound weight with the Image
of *Asdrubal* of the *Barchin* Family, a
a Monument of *Lucius Martius* hi
Victory over the *Carthaginians.* In
the Triumph of *Titus Quintus Flami-*
nius

nius over *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, Son of *Demetrius*, there were among the Spoils ten Shields of Silver and one of massy Gold; which with many Patterns of other votive Shields may be seen in *Jac. Spon. Miscell. Erud. Antiquit.* as also in *Saumaize in loco de Clypeis.* I will onely borrow of him one, which had this Form

S.P.Q.R.
CL.V.

This Shield was dedicated to *Auguſtus* by the Senate and People of *Rome*, as theſe Letters mean: *S.P.Q.R.CL.V.* being the initials of theſe words, *Senatus Populuſque Romanus Clypeum Votivum*, or, *Vovet Cæſari Auguſto.* This Shield ſtands bellying out about the middle, as that about which we are diſcourſing.

III. Our Authour ſays, that there ſeems to him to be repreſented therein that generous Action of *Scipio's*, whereby he quitted a moſt beautifull Virgin of Captivity, and reſtored her to her Spouſe a *Celtiberian* Prince; ſo that a man would believe, that he was the Authour of this moſt ingenious Conjecture, whereas many before him have given ſuch learned and clear Proofs concerning the Truth of the matter, that they have left no place for any one to doubt of it. Firſt, I ſhall repeat this memorable Story out of *Livy*, and then produce *Sponius* his application thereof to the Shield. Theſe are his words: " There was brought " to him by Souldiers a captive Maid,

" which was so beautifull that she
" charm'd all that beheld her. *Scipio*
" ask'd her of what Countrey and
" Parentage she was? She answered,
" she was betrothed to a young Prince
" of the *Celtiberians* by name *Allu-*
" *tius.* Presently he sends for her
" Relations and Spouse who he heard
" loved her extremely, whom he
" discourses more peculiarly than the
" rest. Being a young man my self,
" I call you a young man, lest you
" may be ashamed of the word. When
" your Spouse was brought to me
" by my Souldiers, and that I heard
" you lov'd her entirely which might
" be easily believ'd of so fair a Person.
" I must confess I could love her my
" self, if the occupations of the Com-
" mon-wealth did suffer me to indulge
" the dalliance of Love, and therefore
" I must needs shew my self indulgent
" and favourable to the Love you
" bear. Your Spouse has been as
" chastly kept here with us, as if she
" had been with her own Parents and
" Kindred; and this care was used,

" that

" that I might be able to make you a
" Preſent becoming me and your ſelf.
" I require this onely recompenſe for
" ſuch a gift, that you will become
" a Friend to the Common-wealth of
" *Rome*; and if by what you have
" ſeen, you will judge me to be an
" honeſt man, and ſuch as theſe your
" Countrey-men have experienced my
" Father and Uncle to have been for-
" merly towards them; I would have
" you to know, that there are many
" more ſuch other as we in the City
" of *Rome*, and that you ſhall find no
" People on the Earth whom you
" might ſo much wiſh to be your
" Friends, or leſs deſire to be your
" Enemies. The young man, over-
" come with joy and ſhame, and hol-
" ding faſt *Scipio*'s hand, invoked all
" the Gods to render thanks for him
" to ſuch an *Hero*, ſeeing he was un-
" able himſelf to thank him ſufficient-
" ly or anſwerably to his Deſerts.
" The Virgin's Parents that had
" brought a great deal of Gold with
" them for to redeem her, ſeeing

" that she was restored to them *gra-*
" *tis*, they begged *Scipio* to accept
" of that Money as a Present, which
" they would take as kindly from
" him as the restoring of their Daugh-
" ter. *Scipio*, finding them to be ur-
" gent, accepted of the same, and bid
" them lay it at his Feet, and calling
" to him *Allutius*, he said, I present
" you with this Gold as a Dowry
" with your Mistress over and above
" what you are to receive from your
" Father-in law with her. So that be-
" ing dismiss'd with such Honours and
" Presents, he returned home, filling
" the Countrey with the report of the
" Merits and Praises of *Scipio*, that
" there was a young man come much
" like the Gods, overcoming all be-
" fore him, as well by the force of
" his Arms, as by the Charms of his
" Bounty and Gifts.

Now the Form of our Shield is this:

Which

Ex Musæo D Octavii Mey Civis Lugdunensis

page. 20: 21

Clypeus Votivus.

Which is thus explained by *Sponius*; *Scipio* ſits in the middle, half cover'd with a Mantle onely, his Beard cloſe cut, after the manner of the *Romans* at that time, holding a Spear in his hand, the Symbol of Imperial Dignity. There ſtand about him four *Spaniards*, known by their rough Beards, as was cuſtomary with them, being the Parents and Relations of *Allutius* and the Virgin, who beſeech him to accept of a Gratuity for his reſtoring the Virgin unto them. She ſtands modeſtly by with her Spouſe, who gives her his Hand and Faith, and embraces her with the other Hand. The young man is Beardleſs, but his Hair is rough, like his Countreymens; there ſits a *Spaniard* naked on the ground, perhaps one of the Captives, who admires *Scipio.* Arms are ſcattered here and there, tokens of a Victory already obtain'd, which both a Tribunal ſet up in manner of a Triumphal Arch and *Tritons* publiſh with their Trumpets. Laſtly, Two *Romans*, Tribunes of the People, cloathed in Mail, bearing

ring a Shield and Enſign, being Beardleſs, ſtand by the old Man, who ſpeaks to *Scipio*, one whereof, perhaps, was *Lælius* the Admiral.

This Shield was found *Anno Domini*, MDCLVI. by Fiſhermen in the *Rhoſne* near *Avignon*, and this way *Scipio* muſt go out of *Spain* into *Italy*. But this ſo laudable Deed of *Scipio's*, and the winning of *New-Carthage* happen'd *A. V. C.* 543. *i. e.* 210. years before Chriſt, to which if you add 1688 years, you'll find the Shield to be 1898 years old.

II.

Page 4. *The emboſſing of it is ſo fine and ſo entire, that it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an Inſcription upon it to put us beyond Conjecture, it were yet much more ineſtimable.*

Firſt, he ſays, the Shield is invaluable; but if there were an Inſcription, it were yet much more ineſtimable, wherein he contradicts himſelf; for, if it can be more highly rated, then

it

it could not be before invaluable. Besides, this term Invaluable is an infinite Negative, nor according to the nature of infinites can it admit *magis* or *minus*. The Proposition is to be explain'd thus: This Shield is inestimable, *i. e.* None can esteem it: But when I say that with the addition of some certain circumstance it will be more inestimable, I understand more Nones besides that none that cannot esteem it. How unworthy of a Philosopher is this manner of speaking? and what a Solecism is this in Rhetorick?

III.

A great many Inscriptions are to be seen of the late and barbarous age, &c. *I shall onely give you one, because I made a little Reflexion on it, though it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the Criticks have thought on it.* Page 5.

Here a Man would believe, that the Doctour affirms, that no mention has

been made by any other Writer of this Inſcription, which he recites, as the *Virtuoſo's* of *Leipſick*, whoſe words are theſe: At *Lyons*, as he notes, he obſerved an Inſcription, not taken notice of by others, *In Actis erudit. paulò antè citatis*: Which yet is apparently falſe; for the ſame Inſcription, not to mention others, is taken notice of by *Gruterus*, *in Inſcript. antiq.* Roman. *pag.* 836. But we'll believe that thoſe words of his are not to be underſtood concerning the Inſcription but its Declaration; the praiſe of which Diſcovery none may envy him, ſince it ſtands but on ſlight ground. The Inſcription is thus read in his Letter:

D. M. Et Memoriæ Æternæ Sutiæ Anthidis. Quæ vixit annis XXV. M. XI. D. V. Quæ dum Nimia pia fuit, facta eſt impia: Et Attio Probatiolo, Cecalius Caliſtio Conjux & Pater, & ſibi vivo ponendum curavit & ſub aſcia dedicavit.

On theſe words, *Quæ dum nimia pia fuit, facta eſt impia*, He founds his Conjecture, that it was written in a bar-

a barbarous age, and even the bottom of all his explication. But it is far otherwise read by *Gruter*, and that in this manner:

D. M.
ET. MEMORIAE.
AETERNAE.
SVTIAE. ANT. III. PIS
QVAE VIXIT. ANNIS. XXV.
M. XI. D. V. QVAE. DVM
NIMIARIA. FVIT. FACTA
EST. IMPIA. ETATTIO. PRO
BATIOLO. CEREALIVS CA
LISTIO. CONJVX. ET
PATER ;;;. ET. SIBI
VIVVS. PONENDVM
CVRAVIT. ET. SVB. AS
CIA. DEDICAVIT.

Whether this reading is more true than that of our Authour's, and what Office or Condition of life is signified by the word *Nimiaria*, I shall not trouble my self to examine; yet our Authour himself seems to favour this reading, by beginning *Nimia* with a great Letter.

How-